Tahmas Nama

P. SETU MADHAVA RAO

TAHMAS NAMA

P. Setu Madhava Rao

TAHMAS BEG KHAN BAHADUR was the distinguished nobleman in the court of Shah Alam, the Mughal Emperor (1759-1806). He has narrated important events in his autobiography, Tahmas Nama, which reveals the strange and eventful career of this remarkable person. Brought as a slave by Turkish captains from Persia, he was presented to the Governor of Punjab, Muinulmulk and he grew up as a household slave of Muinulmulk. Later he became the slave of Taimur Shah, the son of Ahmad Shah Abdali. Tamas Khan was witness to the successive political revolutions which the Punjab underwent. Abdali's invasions, Muinulmulk's death under suspicious circumstances, Mughalani Begam's troubles, all these events occurred before the eyes of Tahmas Khan. He was present at Lahore when the Marathas captured that city on 20th of April 1758. In fact it was he who peacefully opened the gates of the city to the Marathas.

Tahmas Nama written in Persian, is yet unpublished. For the first time the translation of this work is brought out. P Setu Madhava Rao has faithfully translated the narrative wherever Tahmas Khan has given accounts of events personally witnessed by him. The events which Tahmas Khan did not witness have been abridged. As a source of graphic description of the conditions prevailing in the Punjab and Delhi during his times, Tahmas Khan's autobiography will be highly useful for the study of Indian history.

Rs.

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

281

Kirpal Singh

20-10-1981

Baba Jeet Singh Bhatti
Page 61-62

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

TAHMAS NAMA

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

BY THE SAME AUTHOR

Among the Gonds of Adilabad

A Grammar of Gondi Language

A Grammar of Kolami Language

Eighteenth Century Deccan

Maratha Mughal Relations 1680–1707

History of Freedom Struggle in Hyderabad 1800–1920
in Three Volumes (*Ed.*)

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

TAHMAS NAMA

The Autobiography of a Slave

Abridged and Translated by

P. SETU MADHAVA RAO

BOMBAY
POPULAR PRAKASHAN

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

© P. SETU MADHAVA RAO, 1967

First Published 1967/1889

PRINTED BY V. G. MATE AT VISHWAKARMA MUDRANALAYA (PVT.) LTD., 405 NARAYAN PETH, POONA 2 AND PUBLISHED BY G. R. BHATKAL FOR POPULAR PRAKASHAN, 35C, TARDEO ROAD, BOMBAY 34 WB

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

TO

A great Gentleman and Friend

DARA NUSSERWANJI MARSHALL

PROFESSOR AND HEAD OF THE
DEPARTMENT OF LIBRARY SCIENCE
AND UNIVERSITY LIBRARIAN
University of Bombay

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

INTRODUCTION

Muhkamuddowlah, Iteqad Jung, Tahmas Beg Khan Bahadur was a distinguished nobleman in the court of Shah Alam, the Mughal Emperor (1759-1806). His autobiography, *Tahmas Nama*, reveals the strange and eventful career of this distinguished person.

Thamas Khan was born in about A. D. 1738 in a village in Turkey. While a boy of five he was captured by the captains of Nadir Shah during the Turco-Persian wars and brought up as a slave. Following the death of Nadir Shah (1747), civil war broke out in Persia. A few Turkish captains migrated to India in the beginning of 1748. Tahmas Khan was carried by these captains to India. Tahmas Khan was not aware of the name given to him by his parents. He was called Zakir by his captors.

Arriving at Multan, the Turkish captains migrated to Lahore and took service under Muinulmulk, commonly known as Mir Mannu, the Governor of the Punjab. The boy was presented by the Turkish captains to the Governor. Tahmas, thus grew up as a household slave of Muinulmulk. After the latter's death in 1753, he continued to be in the service of Muinulmulk's widow, the celebrated Mughalani Begam. Muinulmulk had changed the name of the boy from Zakir to Taimur and then to Taimuras. When Taimur Shah, the son of Ahmad Shah Abdali became the Governor of the Punjab in 1757, he changed the name of the boy from Taimur to Tahmas. It was by this name that the boy came to be known in his later life. In his writings he adopted the *nom de plume* Tahamas Miskin or Miskin (humble). It is by the name Miskin that he refers to himself in his autobiography.

Tahmas Khan was witness to the successive political revolutions which the Punjab underwent. Abdali's invasions, Muinulmulk's death under suspicious circumstances, Mughalani Begam's troubles, all these events occurred before the eyes of

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

Tahmas Khan. He was present at Lahore when the Marathas captured that city on the 20th of April 1758. In fact it was he who peacefully opened the gates of the city to the Marathas.

Tahmas Khan was at Jammu when the battle of Panipat took place in 1761. He left the services of Mughalani Begam in about 1762. After serving the Punjab Rulers in their operations against the Sikhs for a short time, he came to Delhi. He served Najib Khan and later, his son Zabita Khan, till 1772. In that year Shah Alam returned to Delhi. Tahmas Khan entered the services of Shah Alam's Prime Minister Najaf Khan and took part in the wars against the Jats. For his excellent work, he was raised to a peerage and given the title of Muhkamuddowlah, Iteqad Jung Tahmas Beg Khan Bahadur, with a substantial fief.

Tahmas Khan brings his autobiography to an end with the death of Najaf Khan in A. D. 1782. Tahmas Khan's death occurred in A. D. 1803. His son Saadat yar Khan Rangin (1763–1835) rose to be one of the foremost Urdu poets of his day.

Tahmas Khan's autobiography, Tahmas Nama, written in Persian, is yet unpublished. The work had however been utilized by scholars like Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Hari Ram Gupta Ganda Singh and others.

Through the kindness of Dr. P. M. Joshi, a copy was made available to me. The work runs into three hundred and fifty five pages.

Tahmas Khan hardly gives any dates in his narrative. For the convenience of the readers I have recorded important dates in the body of the narrative.

It appears that Tahmas Khan used to write a few pages every day. When he would finish writing every day he would call it a chapter irrespective of the incomplete narration of any particular incident he was dealing with.

In the translation, I have not followed his distribution of chapters. I have indicated important events at suitable places in the narrative.

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

The work, being rather bulky, did not admit of a detailed translation. I have abridged it without omitting any significant incident or event. Descriptions of events of which Tahmas Khan was not a witness or for which more authentic sources are available have been abridged. But where Tahmas Khan has personally witnessed events, I have faithfully translated his narrative.

Tahmas Nama gives a graphic description of conditions in Punjab and Delhi during the invasions of Ahmad Shah Abdali. As such it provides a very important source material for the study of Indian History.

SETU MADHAVA RAO

1st July 1967
'Sushil'
Arthur Bunder Road
Bombay.

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

CONTENTS

Introduction vii

1 Tahmas Nama 1

2 Punjab : 1753-1758 29

3 The Punjab Affairs : 1758-1763 73

4 Delhi Affairs : 1763-1782 110

Index 155

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

1

TAHMAS NAMA

THE home of my ancestors is Turkey. There is a city known as Bayazid. Eight kos east of that city is the village of Arzat. This village is my birthplace and home. As I was a small child (when taken away from my home) I do not remember what name I had been given. I have also forgotten the names of my parents.

At present owing to the close relations which I have with Nawab Zulfiqaruddowlah Najaf Khan Bahadur (chief minister of Delhi, 1772-1782), I have become acquainted with many persons from Persia and a few from Turkey. They remind me about my ancestral region. The Nawab has often asked me about my origin and my community. Others too have been asking me similar questions. Some feel that I might have been an Armenian; while according to some I must have been a Kharji. Some say that I come from the Khurd stock. Still others say that I must be belonging to the Ismalu Tribe. Since the above communities inhabit the region I hail from, people have been feeling that I might have belonged to one of these communities.

As I was separated from my parents during my childhood, I remember neither my origin nor my community. In reply to the queries of the Nawab and others I told them that as I was deeply attached to the Muslim faith, I must have been a Muslim from the beginning.

It was during the wars of Nadir Shah of Persia with the Sultan of Turkey that the armies of Nadir Shah passed through my village. They started looting, pillaging and committing excesses of every description.

At that time my mother and my elder brother took me and came out of the house. The whole village was being subjected to horrible excesses. Just at this time, a horseman fell upon us.

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

He snatched me from the arms of my brother. My mother and brother followed me, wailing and crying. At this time another horseman struck my brother with a sword. On this, my mother turned to attend to my brother. Seizing this opportunity, the horseman put me on horseback and rode away. After this, I have no knowledge of what happened to my mother and brother.

The army looted and plundered the village for one hour and then, after capturing the inhabitants, carried them to their camp. They reached the camp of Nadir Shah within three days. Nadir Shah ordered the captives to be brought before him. This was accordingly done and many captives were released.

But my captor hid me in his house. This horseman was the brother of Kharonji Beg, a captain of hundred cavalrymen. He took me away from his brother and adopted me as his son. He was very kind to me and appointed two tutors to train me. He gave me the name of Zakir.

After a few months, Nadir Shah ordered Kharonji Beg to proceed towards the province of Gilan, collect Government dues and send them to him. None dare disobey the orders of Nadir Shah. That very instant Kharonji Beg marched away. Without halting anywhere, he reached Gilan and having collected the dues with all firmness he sent the amount to Nadir Shah.

Kharonji Beg was a bachelor. He now married the daughter of a chief. A few months later, my circumcision ceremony was performed amidst rejoicings. Kharonji Beg treated me with such affection that I forgot my parents.

Kharonji Beg was a resident of Bokhara. All his followers were Uzbeks from that area.

Two years passed. And then one day it was learnt that Nadir Shah had been murdered (9 June 1747).

In the city of Tabriz, a prince known as Sam proclaimed himself king. He was said to have been connected with the Safawi dynasty.

Nadir Shah had, during his lifetime, sent Amir Arsalan Khan, Qurban Beg Khan Uzbek, Allahyar Khan and Nasir Khan Balooch with a large army towards the province of Ardan. As soon as they heard of Nadir Shah's death, they joined hands and marched away from that province. Qurban Beg Khan was

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

the head of all Uzbek soldiers. He sent a letter to Kharonji Beg calling upon him to join him.

As soon as he received the letter Kharonji Beg marched away quickly and, facing many dangers, reached Tabriz.

Sam, the ruler of Tabriz, heard of the arrival of Kharonji Beg. He invited him to his presence. Kharonji Beg refused. He was then forcibly brought before King Sam. The king said " You should join me. I have also invited Amir Arsalan Khan and Qurban Beg Khan. They will come and join me in a few days. " Kharonji Beg thought it politic to agree to the king's demands.

The king then ordered that the followers of Kharonji Beg be brought before him for inspection. Kharonji Beg was suffering from skin trouble. He was unable to ride a horse. His brother took me to the king. I was not a good rider. At the time of galloping, I was about to fall from the horse when I was saved from fall by some persons.

In short, we entered the service of the King. We were also allotted quarters in the city. The inhabitants however looked down upon us as strangers and treated us with contempt.

In a few days Amir Arsalan Khan arrived near Tabriz with a large army. The King Sam sent his trusted officers and a few other persons to negotiate with him. He wanted them to persuade Arsalan Khan to join him. To this, Arsalan Khan would not agree. War broke out between the two parties. It lasted for a few days. The troops of the King Sam fell back towards the city. Before fighting could be renewed the next day, Sam ordered the troops of Kharonji Beg to march against the enemy. As it was not possible to disobey the king, the followers of Kharonji Beg got ready. Kharonji Beg was ill. As he could not ride, the troops were led by his brother. As soon as fighting started, the followers of Kharonji Beg deserted to the army of the enemy and joined their Uzbek brethren. King Sam's troops were pressed by the troops of Amir Arsalan Khan to the very walls of the city. When the King came to know of the defection of the Uzbeks, he issued orders that the Uzbeks, wherever found, should be rounded up and killed and their property looted. The Quizalbash soldiers fell upon us and killed the Uzbeks. They bound me and Kharonji Beg and took us to their quarters.

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

In the evening Kharonji Beg said to the Quizalbash soldiers "I know very well that you will kill me. My only request is that you should save this child (myself). He is not my son. He was captured in the fighting at Bayazid. I have brought him up."

The Quizalbash soldiers took pity on me. They promised that they would never kill me.

In the meantime, Kharonji Beg's wife who was in the inner apartments started crying. On this the Quizalbashes allowed me to go into the inner apartment and meet my mother (Kharonji Beg's wife). As soon as she saw me, she clasped me to her. She started crying. After some time the Quizalbashes took me and my mother to another house. On our way we noticed that Kharonji Beg had been killed. His body was lying on the road side. We saw it cursorily. Kharonji Beg was suffering from skin disease. Ointment had been rubbed on his body. This had a bad odour. Since the dead body was giving out the foul smell of ointment, we were sure that it was the dead body of Kharonji Beg which we had seen on the streets.

The next day when fighting was renewed, Arsalan Khan stormed the city of Tabriz. The King Sam finding himself unable to resist the enemy fled from the city.

Amir Arsalan Khan triumphantly entered the city. He set about restoring order in the city. My captors removed me to another house during the night. I learnt that the wife of Kharonji Beg had also been murdered.

I was spared out of pity for my young age. After a few days Qurban Beg Khan issued instructions to the heads of various localities in the city as follows " If Kharonji Beg has been killed it is necessary to search for his wife, son, and property. Find out where they are kept. "

Accordingly, persons started searching the localities. Whenever they found goods belonging to Kharonji Beg, they removed them. On hearing this news, my captors hid me in a cellar. I was given very little food to eat. I had to spend four days in this condition.

As the inquiry became more intense, my captors removed me from the house where I had been kept. They brought me to their own quarters. In the evening, they decided to take me to a corner of the house and kill me.

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

As I was destined to live, my captors changed their mind. They took me outside the city.

My escape

It so happened that the authorities of the city had sent a contingent of camel riders and others to gather wood and fodder from the country-side. These persons happened to pass by fruit gardens lying adjacent to the city. The water-melons and sweet-melons were found ripe and ready foı collection. Tempted by the fruits, men of the contingent entered the gardens and started eating the fruits. They also gathered the fruits to carry them home.

The owner of the gardens on seeing the destruction caused by these persons, rushed to the authorities and laid his complaint before them. These, enraged at the outrage, ordered soldiers to be sent to the spot. They were asked to apprehend any one carrying fruits and administer sound beating to the persons concerned.

The soldiers accordingly took their position on the roads. A number of inhabitants gathered to witness the show. The thieves who were carrying fruits to the city became alarmed. They threw away the melons and ran pellmell.

The inhabitants fell upon the fruits and started eating them. My captors who happened to be there also took a hand in the game. They were still engaged in eating them, when night fell. Finding it impossible to get into the city, they moved into the garden, and decided upon spending the night there. I was with them. After they had settled down, I begged permission to leave them on the plea of answering the call of nature. This they readily agreed to. I withdrew to a corner of the garden.

The garden was surrounded by a low wall. I took a sudden decision, and jumping over the wall saw myself on the other side of the garden. I immediately started running. I fell in with a body of troops going towards the city. I followed them. When they reached their quarters they asked me who I was and what I was doing there. I told them my story. The captain of the troops allowed me to stay in his camp. Next morning, when I was standing in front of the camp, I noticed a few men belong-ng to the contingent of Kharonji Beg. As soon as I saw them,

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

I started crying. I could not restrain my tears. These men recognised me and took me to the authorities. I told them the whole story. They immediately sent a search party. I identified the house where I had been imprisoned. A woman and a few men were taken out of the house. Qurban Khan, the administrator of the city, ordered the woman to be released. Everything belonging to the men, he ordered, was to be taken away from them.

I had thought that the brother of Kharonji Beg was alive. But I came to know that he too had been killed. Hasan Beg, an adopted brother of Kharonji Beg, recognised me and took me home.

Amir Arsalan Khan remained in Tabriz. The other chiefs, (Qurban Beg Khan Uzbek, Nasir Khan Balooch, and Allah yar Khan Afghan) marched away from the city. Nasir Khan Balooch agreed to escort the army upto the borders of Baluchistan. Allah yar Khan undertook to escort them upto Quandahar. Qurban Beg Uzbek declared that he would then march towards Turkestan (beyond Oxus).

Having decided on this course of action, they left Tabriz. I was taken along with the party. On the way they pillaged and plundered cities and villages. The army had however to march long distances through difficult terrain. There were stretches where the barest food was available with the utmost difficulty. Men and horses suffered heavily. We saw on our way towering mountains like Alwand and Alburze and deep valleys. Food was unobtainable, the water was blackish and unwholesome, and the inhabitants ever ready to attack. The loss of our army was heavy. Many men lost their horses and had to walk on foot. Such of those as had horses and mules of their own had a comparatively easy time.

We at last reached the sea coast. At that place Nasir Khan Balooch gave leave to Qurban Beg Khan and Allah yar Khan to return to their country. Two of the Uzbek chiefs, Balti Beg and Muhammad Nazar Beg along with two thousand troops separated from Qurban Beg Khan, and deciding to go to Lahore marched away.

I was attached (as a slave) to Hasan Beg of the troops of Qurban Beg Khan. This officer had lost a number

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

of horses during the march. He saw that he would have no horse to spare for me and that I could not stand the journey on foot. Finding no other alternative he handed me over to another Uzbek chief Auraz Beg by name. I do not know whether he received any money for this transaction.

Now, this Auraz Beg had also lost a number of horses. He had however a donkey which was used both for riding and for carrying goods. I used to ride this donkey everyday. It also carried goods. My master was extremely hard-hearted and cruel. He used to beat me often. He had absolutely no pity for me. He used to send me to fetch water and fuel. I suffered terribly under him.

Now, this party of two thousand marched away. After traversing a long distance and fighting their way through warlike tribes the party arrived at Multan. In the fighting that occurred, the troops had lost a number of soldiers. When they arrived at Multan the whole party numbered one thousand.

At Multan, these men approached the Governor of the city and were entertained in service by him.

Affairs at Lahore

While Ahmad Shah Abdali had, on the death of Nadir Shah declared his independence at Quandahar (June 1747), affairs in Lahore were as follows.

The Governor of Punjab on behalf of the Emperor Muhammad Shah was Zakariya Khan, commonly known as Khan Bahadur. There was general peace in the province during his reign. On the death of Zakariya Khan (1st July 1745) fighting broke out between his two sons, the elder known as Yahiya Khan, and the younger, Shah Nawaz Khan. After a great deal of fighting Shah Nawaz Khan defeated and captured Yahiya Khan (21st March 1747). He then commenced administering the province.

Shah Nawaz Khan had gathered an army of forty thousand soldiers and a good train of artillery. In his army there were ten thousand Uzbeks well paid and equipped. Although Shah Nawaz Khan was one of the Amirs (noblemen) of India, yet his command of a numerous army turned his head.

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

Through sheer folly and shortsightedness he sent an ambassador to Ahmad Shah Abdali with the following message.

" If you arrive at Lahore, I will join your service, you can conquer India. The only condition would be that I should be appointed your Prime Minister. If you agree to this, I will bring the whole of India under your sway. "

Ahmad Shah Abdali was extremely delighted at this proposal. He could hardly contain himself with delight. He gathered an army of ten thousand men, and in a short time arrived near Lahore (8 January 1748).

When Shah Nawaz Khan saw the small number of troops Ahmad Shah Abdali had with him, he changed his mind and attacked the Afghans. Being however, worsted in the fight (11 January 1748). Shah Nawaz Khan fled away to Delhi. Ahmad Shah Abdali seized the city (Lahore) and after having settled its administration, moved towards Delhi (19 February 1748).

On hearing of the invasion of Ahmad Shah Abdali, the emperor Muhammad Shah sent a large army under his son Ahmad Shah and his wazir Qamaruddin.

In the fight with the Afghans (Battle of Manupur, 11 March 1748) the wazir Qamaruddin was killed. His son Muinulmulk however boldly attacked the Afghans and defeated them.

The Afghans then left the Punjab. Muinulmulk, the son of the late wazir Qamaruddin was appointed as Governor of the province.

The emperor Muhammad Shah died (15th April 1748). He was succeeded by his son Ahmad Shah.

Muinulmulk arrived at Lahore (April 1748) and took charge of the Governorship.

Tahmas Khan's movements

At Multan, my captors, the Uzbek captains had, with two thousand troops, entered the service of the Governor. When they heard that Muinulmulk had taken charge at Lahore and was raising troops, they quitted Multan with their troops and arrived at Lahore. As their slave, I followed them.

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

Having arrived at Lahore, the two Uzbek captains, Shahabuddin Beg and Muhammad Nazir Beg took consultation among themselves. They said " We must seek service here through the efforts of some person. "

They had heard that Sayyad Jamiluddin Khan and Muhammad Said Khan Mughal were highly respected by, and in the close confidence of, Muinulmulk. They then met the two Khans and explained their circumstances to them.

Sayyad Jamiluddin Khan and Muhammad Said Khan entertained the request of the Uzbek captains. They told them " We will arrange your meeting with the Governor tomorrow. Bring some valuable presents with you. "

The captains then returned to their quarters. They said " What presents from Persia should be placed before the Governor ? ". After great deliberation they decided that I, (the author Tahmas) and two other boys should be handed over to the Governor. Accordingly, the next day they handed over three boys (including myself) to the Governor. He treated them kindly, gave them robes and ordered that they should, along with their troops, be entertained in his service.

Tahmas, a household slave of Muinulmulk

Night fell, and we three boys found ourselves in the mansion of Muinulmulk. The splendour of the palace and the dazzling illuminations everywhere, bewildered us. We were eight or nine years old. We did not know any language other than Turkish. We had never seen such scenes previously.

There was one Khwaja Sara, Muharam Khan by name, in the palace. He began to make enquiries about us. He spoke Turkish. This reassured us to a great extent.

When Muinulmulk arrived in Lahore to assume charge of his office he was received by distinguished officers such as Adina Beg Khan, the deputy Governor of the Doab (Jullundhar), Mir Momin Khan and Lakhpatrai, the Diwan.

It was a great good fortune that we were in the service of Muinulmulk. One day he asked me " Are there boys of your age in the camp of the Mughals (Uzbeks). " I said, " There should be many. He then took five boys from the Uzbeks and

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

constituted a group of us. We were allotted places of attendance in the Diwankhana. A person by name Jani was deputed to look after us. We used to get three meals a day from the palace kitchen. We used to feed heartily. We were also given dresses to wear.

A tutor was appointed to train us. Many amongst us would miss their lessons on the plea that the Governor wanted us and the tutor dared not bring us back. Unlike other children I generally kept away from mischief and childish pranks. During seven years I completed a considerable portion of the Quran, while the others could not finish even one para (Chapter).

Constructing toy forts and mounting toy guns was my favourite hobby in my childhood.

Later, when Muinulmulk (his other title was Rustume Hind) marched on campaigns, I had a chance to see life in the camps. Rows after rows of tents, set in an orderly manner, the chief tent of the Governor, his private chambers, his bedroom, the tent holding kettle drums, all these made a lasting impression on my mind. I purchased clothes from the bazar and put on a uniform similar to the one I had noticed in the camp. I was highly satisfied with myself.

We were a party of sixteen boys while the camp was on march. Each of us was given a daily allowance of one rupee.

Nawab Muinulmulk changed our names. I was called Zakir by my previous masters. Muinulmulk gave me the name of Taimur. He was very kind to me. He often used to call me Taimuras (the name of a king of Persia). When I came in more contact with him he began to call me Aga.

Muinulmulk gave instructions to Khwaja Sara Muharam Khan, his treasury officer, to pay attention to our training in court etiquettes.

Muharam Khan was a trusted official of Muinulmulk. He had a fleet of his own elephants.

He instructed his captain Mir Abdulla to look after us. We were not to learn Hindustani but confine ourselves to Turkish. No one was to be allowed to keep company with us.

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

Muinulmulk's daily routine

Muinulmulk used to rise early. He used to engage himself in prayers. At break of dawn, he used to call us (eight boys in all) and make us join in prayers. Anyone happening to remain absent was soundly rebuked.

At about nine O'clock, he used to start his Durbar (office). He used to go through the papers submitted by the Bakhshi relating to the army.

Afterwards, Nawab Bhikari Khan, who was his deputy in all matters, used to see Muinulmulk. They would have consultations for an hour or so. Afterwards, the Governor would retire for lunch and rest. After the evening prayers he would devote himself to office work for sometime, and receive visitors. Then the Maulavis and other learned persons used to see him. They used to read the Quran and other Arabic works.

After the departure of these persons, court officials would come in with their papers. After disposing of the office work he would hold consultations with Nawab Bhikari Khan. They would have their dinner together.

Afterwards the Governor used to enjoy the dance and songs of the courtezans. He would then retire for the night. This was his routine which I witnessed for seven years.

Abdali's invasion, November 1749

At that time Ahmad Shah Abdali decided to invade the Punjab. He accordingly crossed the river Jehlum. On hearing of this invasion, Muinulmulk marched out from Lahore. The Afghans were fifteen kos distant from that place. Fighting continued between the two armies for a few days. The two or three thousand Mughal troops of the advance army of Muinulmulk worsted the Afghans in the fight. On this, Ahmad Shah Abdali opened peace negotiations. Muinulmulk deputed an experienced diplomat named Maulvi Abdullah. After peace was established between the adversaries, Ahmad Shah marched away to Afghanistan, and Muinulmulk returned in triumph to Lahore.

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

Nasir Khan of Kabul

Nasir Khan was formerly the Mughal Governor of Kabul. Following the rise of Ahmad Shah he had fled from Kabul to Delhi. As no one paid any attention to him at Delhi, he came away to Lahore. Muinulmulk received him with great courtesy and appointed him fauzdar of four Mahals including Sialkot. He said to him " Carry on the administration of these Mahals well. From the revenues thereof raise an army so that within a year or two you will have a wellequipped army with you. God willing I will take you and instal you as the Governor of Kabul. Ahmad Shah Abdali will be uprooted from that region and the province restored to the Empire. "

On this promise, Nasir Khan proceeded to Sialkot and commenced administering that region.

In the meanwhile, on the death of Qamaruddin, ' the wazir (father of Muinulmulk). Mansur Ali Khan (Safdar Jung) had become the wazir of the Mughal Emperor Ahmad Shah. He was apprehensive that Muinulmulk, as the son of the late wazir might aspire to the post of the wazir. He therefore, wrote secretly to Nasir Khan, promising him the Governorship of Lahore, provided he defeated and destroyed Muinulmulk. Nasir Khan, believing in the words of Mansur Ali Khan, embarked on acts of hostility towards Muinulmulk. He seduced a number of Uzbek troops, about one thousand in number from the employ of Muinulmulk. On hearing of the disaffection of Nasir Khan, Muinulmulk marched to Sialkot. After the fighting had lasted for some time, Nasir Khan fled to Delhi. Muinulmulk returned to Lahore, spending some time on the way at Kalanur.

Muinulmulk's kindness to me

Nawab Muinulmulk gave to each of us, a gold ring, a sword and a belt. Three elephants had been placed at our disposal for riding. Later, each of us was provided with a horse. The Nawab ordered that we should spend our time in picking up arts and crafts at the rate of two months for each craft. He used to inspect our progress at intervals.

One day he was inspecting some drawings and paintings.

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

At that time, I was standing near him. He turned to me and said, " The art of drawing and painting is very much appreciated by people in every walk of life. You should learn it. "

On hearing this, tears sprang to my eyes. I said, " Sir, of what use is this art to me that you should ask me to cultivate it. "

On this, he smiled and taking a paper, he drew a picture and showed it to me. He then said to me, " You should acquaint yourself with all the arts so that you could please people in the assembly. "

Machinations of Shah Nawaz Khan

Mansur Ali Khan (Safdar Jung), the wazir (Prime Minister) of the Mughal Emperor, was on terms of enmity with the Governor of Punjab, Muinulmulk. He entered into a conspiracy with Shah Nawaz Khan, (the son of the previous Governor Zakaria Khan). He said to him, " You are entitled to the Governorship of Lahore. You should strain every nerve to obtain it. You should first take possession of Multan and then make preparations to seize Lahore ". He then handed over the order of appointment of the Governorship of Multan to Shah Nawaz Khan. The latter, accordingly, reached Multan and started recruiting troops.

The Mughalia troops who had deserted to Nasir Khan, but had come back in the employ of Muinulmulk, now deserted once again to Shah Nawaz Khan. Proud of his army, Shah Nawaz Khan, wrote to Muinulmulk that he wanted to visit his father's tomb at Lahore and would therefore, like to visit that city. Muinulmulk was inclined to agree. But his advisors protested. They pointed out the treacherous nature of Shah Nawaz Khan, who had, through cunning and trickery, thrown his own elder brother in prison and had seized power. Muinulmulk, therefore asked Shah Nawaz Khan to go over to Lahore with a small escort. Shah Nawaz Khan, now threw off mask. He asserted that he would go to Lahore with an army and seize the Province as it was his rightful domain.

Things now came to a head. Muinulmulk sent a well-equipped army led by Ismat Khan and Rajah Kauramal. These two had once been the Bakhshi and Diwan of Shah Nawaz Khan

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

respectively. They had been imprisoned by Muinulmulk. After a short while, they were released and restored to favour. They now marched on Multan. In the fight which followed, Ismat Khan lost his life. Rajah Kauramal however won the battle. Shah Nawaz Khan was killed.

Rajah Kauramal established a strong administration in Multan. The Mughalia troops who had deserted to Shah Nawaz Khan were again entertained by Muinulmulk through the intercession of Syed Jamiluddin Khan and Muhammad Said Khan.

Our Training

Meanwhile, Nawab Muinulmulk continued paying close attention to the training of the household boys. We were trained to handle guns and other arms, under the supervision of an experienced officer deputed for the purpose. We were also trained in the observance of court etiquette. Nor was our religious training neglected.

Formerly we were given food from the Governor's kitchen. But now, on our request, we were given a daily allowance of one Rupee and a few annas each for this purpose. Our supervisor Jani, became responsible for our food arrangement. Muinulmulk used to say " I want everyone of you boys to grow up into fine and accomplished men. In that case you can look forward to appointments such as the Governorship of the Doaba, four Mahals, Multan or Kashmir. If you do not show inclination towards training, you will rot as attendants on a salary of forty Rupees. "

He used to like us very much. When his mother, Sholapuri Begam (widow of the Wazir, Qamaruddin) arrived in Lahore from Delhi, he took us to her and spoke of us as his boys.

It was at this time that I became acquainted with Qasim Khan. He was a young Mughal recently arrived from Balkh. He was first entertained as an attendant in the office of the Governor. He used to request us to speak about him to the Governor at suitable times. We obliged him. We used to read the poems of Hafiz together in the welllit audience hall of the Governor. After some time Qasim Khan rose high in the favour of Muinulmulk. His brothers, Alamjan and Arifjan

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

also arrived from Balkh and entered the service of Muinulmulk. Although Qasim Khan prospered, he never forgot my earlier services to him. He was always kind to me.

Nawab Muinulmulk paid special attention to the equipment of his Mughal troops. These troops were employed against the Sikhs. Among these Mughals, Khwajah Mirza Khan was, due to his skill and efficiency, a favourite of Muinulmulk.

Abdali's invasion (1751)

It was at this time that Ahmad Shah Abdali collected a force of forty to fifty thousand soldiers, consisting of Durranis, Quizalbash, Uzbeks and others and marched from Qandahar towards India (September 1751).

On hearing the news, Muinulmulk made strong preparations to meet the invader. With a well equipped army he crossed the river Ravi and camped for some time at Shahdarah. He then marched towards Shah Doola (end of November, 1751). There were continuous clashes with Afghans. When Ahmad Shah Abdali saw that he could not face Muinulmulk and his numerous and well equipped troops, he left his tents standing, and silently crossing the Ravi, approached Lahore . His general Jahan Khan also arrived with ten thousand troops and camped near Faiz Bag.

As soon as Muinulmulk heard of these tactics of the enemy, he immediately arrived near the river at Rajghat. His Mughal troops led by Khwajah Mirza Khan and others, attacked the Afghans near Faiz Bag. Although the Afghans numbered ten thousand, while the Mughals were only nine hundred, yet the Afghans had to retreat under the fierce onslaught of the Mughals. The Afghans retreated towards the Shalamar.

Next day, Muinulmulk crossed the river and encamped close to the city. Fighting continued between the two armies.

When Ahmad Shah saw that he could not dislodge Muinulmulk, he decided to ravage the countryside. During the ensuing four months, the Afghans laid waste the region round Lahore to a distance of forty kos. The Mughals used to capture the Afghans and their horses and bring them to Muinulmulk. But so devastated had the surrounding country been, that no lamp was

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

lighted in any house for a distance of three marches. Grain became very scarce. Both the armies were reduced to great straits.

Nawab Muinulmulk was now inclined to march against the enemy. But Adina Beg Khan advised " Wait for a week more. I will find out if the enemy is thinking of marching back to his country. " The Diwan, Rajah Kaura Mal advised Muinulmulk to move away to a distance of five kos as the present site of the camp had become extremely unhealthy. Muinulmulk agreed to move out.

As soon as this news reached Ahmad Shah, he decided to attack Muinulmulk. The next day (5th March 1752) when Muinulmulk marched out, the Afghans attacked his army. Adina Beg Khan was at the advance, Rajah Kauramal was in the rear, while Muinulmulk took his position in the centre. In the fight Rajah Kauramal lost his life. Khwajah Mirza Khan, and Sayyad Jamiluddin Khan were wounded. By this time, it was evening. During the night when it was pitch dark, the enemy started plundering the people. The soldiers of Muinulmulk and a number of people from the city fled.

Nawab Muinulmulk got down from his elephant. He held his prayers at that spot. There were about ten thousand troops around him. Nawab Bhikari Khan and others said to Muinulmulk. " At a distance of one kos from this place where the Idgah is situated, Adina Beg Khan has erected a tent. It would be better to move to that place." The Nawab refused. At that time I was present near Muinulmulk. After great entreaties, Muinulmulk mounted his horse and moved towards the Idgah. But no tent was to be found there. Some of the officers advised a retreat towards Delhi, while others advised seeking refuge in the hills. But Muinulmulk said " I will enter Lahore and entrenching myself continue the fight. "

He then entered the city. I got separated from him and it was with great difficulty that I arrived at his residence at the time of morning prayers.

Muinulmulk now exerted himself in strengthening the defences of the city. He posted tried officers at various points, mounted guns on various bastions and encouraged his troops to fight the enemy.

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

The battle was in progress for a couple of hours, when an emissary arrived from Ahmad Shah, bearing the following message: " It is now four months. Moslems from both sides are being killed. You have now strengthened the defences of the city and want to fight. This will only result in the death of Moslems. This will disgrace you before God and his Prophet. How do you justify this ? This will be highly displeasing to God and Prophet. You had, therefore, better send your trusted emissaries to negotiate. After that you can come and see me without any hesitation. "

On receiving the message, Muinulmulk got ready to mount his horse. He did not consult any one. People near him strongly protested against his going to the enemy without prior guarantees, and with a slender escort. But he did not listen. Taking the emissary of Ahmad Shah with him and escorted by a few horsemen, he boldly rode out, to see Ahmad Shah.

As soon as the latter heard of Muinulmulk's arrival he appointed his General Jahan Khan, to receive Muinulmulk. Immediately after, Shah Wali Khan, the Wazir of Ahmad Shah was deputed to extend all courtesies to Muinulmulk. These two dignitaries escorted him with all honour, and brought him to Ahmad Shah.

Ahmad Shah asked Muinulmulk, " You have withstood against me. How should you be treated ? "

Muinulmulk replied, " If you are a merchant, purchase me. If you are a butcher, kill me, if you are a king, pardon me. "

Ahmad Shah was pleased exceedingly at this reply. He embraced Muinulmulk, addressed him as son, and bestowed on him the very turban he was wearing.

After this, Muinulmulk said " Now that you have addressed me as your son, I would request you to release the prisoners and see that order is restored in the city. "

On this, Ahmad Shah issued orders to release the prisoners, and to restore order. There was terrible scarcity of grain in the city and people had suffered greatly.

Muinulmulk returned to the city the next day. He comforted the citizens. He collected a few lacs of rupees and sent the amount to Ahmad Shah.

Ahmad Shah desired that coins should be struck in his name in Lahore. To this Muinulmulk strongly objected. He said

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

" There is the Emperor of India. Like me, he has a number of loyal and distinguished officers under him. If you struck coins in your name in Lahore, it will earn a very bad name for me. I will be disgraced in the eyes of all the chiefs of India. I should be excused in this matter. "

Ahmad Shah, considering his victory as a miracle, now left for Qandhar (21st April 1752).

After the departure of Ahmad Shah, Muinulmulk set about to restore order in the Province. While he was at Batala, news was received that the Sikhs were creating trouble. Muinulmulk sent Syed Jamiluddin Khan and Bakhshi Gazibeg Khan against them. They were dispersed. Nine hundred of them, however, had gathered in the fort of Ram Rauni (Amritsar) close to Chak Guru. (close of 1752). They were besieged in the fort. Ultimately, in desperation, the Sikhs, issued out of the fort and fell upon the besiegers, sword in hand. A hand to hand fight took place. Syed Jamiluddin Khan and his cavalry got down from their horses and fought on foot. After a desperate fight the Sikhs were killed.

Afterwards, Nawab Muinulmulk arrived on the spot. The army encamped in that place for a few days.

Among the officers of Muinulmulk, Khwajah Mirza Khan and his brother Khwajah Sayed became great favourites of Muinulmulk. Khwajah Sayed was entrusted with the Seal of the Governor in addition to his duties as Daroga.

The family of Muinulmulk

Muinulmulk had one wife. There were eight other ladies in his harem. But they had been allotted separate quarters. From his wife, he had two daughters and one son. One of the daughters was betrothed to Nawab Gaziuddin Khan, the Prime Minister of the Mughal Emperor. The second daughter was married to one Momin Khan, the son of Khwajah Moosa Khan belonging to Bukhara. This was the region which was the original home of Muinulmulk's ancestors. Muinulmulk's son was born in Lahore. He was given the name of Muhammad Amin Khan.

Muinulmulk was always mindful of his army. He was constant in improving its effeciency. He used to say, " God

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

willing, with these troops and artillery, I will fight successfully with Ahmad Shah Abdali, and avenge the previous defeat. I will not ride an elephant in the battle which is the custom in India, and which makes the general, a mark for the guns of the enemy. I will ride on horseback and fight the enemy."

After some time Muinulmulk returned to Lahore and spent the following six months in ease and luxury.

Safdarjung's rebellion

At this time, news was received that Mansur Ali Khan Safdarjung, had broken out in rebellion against the Emperor and that Gaziuddin Khan was fighting against him. Muinulmulk sent Syed Jamiluddin Khan and other generals to the assistance of Gaziuddin. After some time, Muinulmulk himself marched out of Lahore to a distance of seven kos, and encamped near village Tikapur situated on the bank of the Ravi. He halted there for a long time and sent out Mughalia troops under Khwajah Mirza in every direction to suppress the Sikhs, whenever he heard of their risings. Khwajah Mirza, at the head of his troops rode out twenty or some times thirty kos. Wherever he got a clue of the whereabouts of the Sikhs, he suddenly fell upon them and slew them. The persons who brought Sikhs alive or their heads or their horses, received prizes. Every Mughal who lost his own horse in the battle was provided with another of a better quality at the expense of the Government. The Sikhs who were captured alive were beaten with wooden mallets and killed. At times Adina Beg Khan sent forty to fifty captured Sikhs from the Doab District (Jallundhur). They were as a rule killed with the strokes of wooden hammers.

During this period we boys had learnt the use of muskets well. We used to ride out surreptitously with the Mughals and discharge our guns. Muinulmulk was cross for some time at our behaviour and deprived us of our horses. But later, he restored them to us. Whenever he saw us riding and discharging guns, he would be very much pleased. We used to be in constant attendance on him. He was always mindful about our training. He often used to remark about me. "Of all the boys, this one (meaning myself) would achieve a name."

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

Death of Muinulmulk (Third November 1753)

Muinulmulk stayed for some time at the village Tikapur, on the bank of the river, eight kos from Lahore. One day at this place, in the month of Muharram, he mounted a horse and went out for a hunt. Before proceeding, he sent Khwajah Mirza Khan and some other chiefs to proceed against the Sikhs.

After his return from hunt, he halted in a fort which had been built by him. As it was afternoon, he had his lunch at that place. After lunch, he took rest for some time. He woke up when it was an hour or so left for evening. I noticed that his Bazuband (Bracelet round the arm) had separated from his arm. I drew his attention to this. He was surprised. Picking up the bracelet with his own hand, he handed it over to the custody of an officer. He then washed and prayed. He then put on his dress and, mounting his horse rode out of the fort.

By this time Khwajah Mirza Khan had brought the heads of a few Sikhs. Muinulmulk gave rewards to soldiers who had brought in the heads. He then moved towards his troops. He put his horse to a gallop over the field. When he was galloping over the next field, he, as fate had ordained, came down from his horse. He then asked his son-in-law Khwajah Momin Khan, myself, the Bakshi and others to go ahead and stand at a distance. He then turned towards a tree for a wash. The Khwajahsaras (Eunuchs) drew a curtain. He wanted to ease himself. But due to some obstruction, this became impossible. Due to exertion, he became speechless and fainted. He was put in a palanquin and brought to the camp. Physicians came to attend upon him. The physicians tried various remedies. They were of no use. At midnight, Muinulmulk passed away (3rd November 1753).

The strange thing was that the colour of his body from the face to the chest had turned blue. This sad occurrence caused a heartrending crying and bewailing in the whole army. At this time the Begum Sahiba (Mughalani Begum, wife of Muinulmulk) opened the treasury. She ordered that the pay of the soldiers be distributed immediately. Accordingly, for three days and nights, the work of the distribution of pay was in progress. The Nawab Saheb's body was provisionally buried at that place (near the camp). On the fourth day, Bhikari Khan said that he

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

would take the body to Delhi. The Begum said that she would take it to Lahore. This caused an argument and led to hot words. Bhikari Khan appointed five hundred persons to guard the corpse and started a disturbance. The Begum was surprised. She called in all the chiefs. The Hindustani chiefs came to her and agreed to do her bidding. But the Mughalia troops had been seduced by Bhikari Khan. Their chiefs did not go to the Begam. She, therefore, sent for Qasim Khan. She said to him " You explain matter to the Mughalia troops and bring them to me. Qasim Khan said that he would bring all Mughalia chiefs by promising them favours. But until his return the corpse was to be guarded. The Begum then entrusted the work of guarding the corpse to we boys. The moment we went to the appointed place, the five Hundred troops placed by Bhikari Khan left the body and walked away. We took our positions. Meanwhile Qasim Khan brought the Mughals. Khwajah Mirza Khan, however, along with three hundred of his troops, remained attached to Bhikari Khan. The Begum, then marched to Lahore with the corpse. It was provisionally deposited near the tomb of Khan Bahadur (Zakariya Khan, the late Governor). Men of the artillery and we boys were deputed to guard it.

Muhammad Amin Khan appointed Governor (*January* 1754)

When the news of the death of Muinulmulk reached Delhi, the Emperor appointed Muhammad Amin Khan, the son of Muinulmulk as Governor. The work of administration was, however, to be carried on by Mughalani Begum as the regent. All the officers of the previous regime were retained in their posts. Mir Momin Khan, a distinguished dignitary of Lahore was appointed deputy Governor. The officers used to pay their respects to Amin Khan, the Governor (He was two years old.) and then go to the Begum, who used to issue necessary instructions from behind the curtain.

Bhikari Khan, however, started recruiting Afghan troops from Qasur. He mounted guns on his house and openly defied the authority of the Begum.

The Begum, however, cleverly seduced the Mughalia troops through grants of rewards, titles and other favours. Qasim Khan

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

was given the title of Khan. Even Khwajah Mirza Khan was cleverly seduced by her. He was given the title of Khan and appointed to the Parganah of Aminabad, twenty kos to the north of Lahore. Khwajah Mirza Khan immediately mounted his horse and taking hold of Bhikari Khan, brought him in a palanquin to the Begum. She imprisoned him. Khwajah Said Khan was appointed to keep a watch over Bhikari Khan.

The Begum ordered that Bhikari Khan's troops be plundered. This was done. After three days the captains of Bhikari Khan's troops approached the Begum. They said "We were the servants of Bhikari Khan. What other fault have we committed?" The Begum took pity on them. She ordered that the plundered property should be restored to them. Nobody dare disobey her orders.

The Begum gave robes of honour to Khwajah Mirza Khan and sent him to Aminabad. Qasim Khan had rendered good service. He was given the Parganah of Patti in the Manjha region, and sent away.

Revolt of Qasim Khan (*March* 1754)

While Qasim Khan was in attendance on the Begum he had been the recipient of many favours from her. She even called him her son. At this time about three hundred young men from Badakshan arrived and were employed by him. He provided them with guns and muskets. Similarly one hundred Mughals gathered round him. At this time he was given the Parganah of Patti. Some thousand troops and a few cannons were given to him by the Begum. He was also given a few thousand rupees.

When Qasim Khan arrived to take leave of the Begum I met him in the Diwankhana, the audience hall. He said to me "All this prosperity is due to you brethren. I want you to accompany me. I will supply you with whatever is required by way of equipment. In whatever success I will gain, yours will be the first share."

We boys had been heartbroken due to the death of the Nawab. The Khwajah Saras (Eunuchs) were prominent in every affair. It was useless to expect any one to sympathise with us. As the couplet goes "The Nawab departed and one has to deal with

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

women; what can women know of the worth of men? The Khwajah Saras were having an effective voice in everything. Men had to get their work done through these wretches."

We therefore agreed to accompany him. He secured the necessary permission. He then encamped at Bagh Lakhapatrai, at a distance of two kos from Lahore. The next day we rode out to meet him. He entertained us and gave two Ashrafis to each of us for enjoyment. The next day we resumed our march.

The same day we had to fight against the Sikhs. Qasim Khan was advised to forestall the Sikhs and fall upon them boldly so that they could be destroyed. He, however, did not agree. In the evening he returned to his tents. The Sikhs followed him fighting all the way up to his tents and then dispersed.

Next day Qasim Khan left the road to Patti and moving towards a village twelve kos away, camped there. On the plea that the people had sided with the Sikhs, he imprisoned them. He camped there for a month. He did not release women and children who were taken captive. The Sikhs used to fight with him every day and depart.

After a few days, Qasim Khan placed one of his brothers named Alim Beg Khan at the head of one thousand horse and foot to lead an attack by way of chapawal (sudden attack) on a village where the Sikhs had assembled. No sooner had he reached there, the Sikhs started fighting. Heavy fighting took place. Alim Beg Khan could not make a stand. Finding himself unequal to the task, he retreated. Three hundred of his soldiers from Badakhshan were killed. On hearing the news Qasim Khan mounted his horse and started. I too joined him. With two horsemen I moved forward and joined the troops of chapawal. I saw that the troops were running away. My colleagues, Muhammad Aqil and others had, earlier, joined further. Three Sikhs were following the fleeing troops. I noticed that many persons had fallen dead to a distance of one kos. Muhammad Aqil persuaded me to turn back. We reached our troops safely that day.

The next day I gave a piece of advice to Qasim Khan. He did not agree. Hot words passed between us. I, therefore, returned to Lahore.

After a few days he also marched back from that place. Unsuccessful in achieving anything, he had suffered extreme

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

hardships and disgrace. He camped on the bank of the river a distance of five kos from Lahore. I went to see him. He said "I have won over eight thousand Sikhs by friendly negotiations. I will soon seize Lahore. I will raise a large army and seize Delhi as well. I will then become a king."

There was a Khwajahzada in his army. He was once a Fauzdar of Saharanpur. He had been defeated and ruined. He had come to Qasim Khan. To him Qasim Khan said "I will make you my wazir (Prince Minister)." To me he said "I will make you my Bakhshi (Paymaster General)."

At that time, I was a lad of fifteen years. I said to him "Such useless talk does not become you. Within a few days you will see the result of such empty talk."

After five days, he left that place and encamped outside the city near Shah Balawal.

I again went to see him. He was completely done up. He had given thousands of rupees worth muskets, bows, arrows and other arms to the Sikhs. It was an useless folly. Nothing came out of it. His own troops clamoured for their pay. They besieged him and abused him. They also cut down the ropes of his tents and capturing him, brought him to the Begum. She ordered that he should be kept in strict confinement in the palace enclosure.

From that time his affairs became miserable. Nobody cared for him.

Death of Muhammad Amin Khan (*May* 1754)

Muhammad Amin Khan, a boy of one year, had become the Governor following his father's death. The Khwajah Sara Muharam Khan used to hold him in his lap while the courtiers did obeisance to the boy, twice a day, according to the normal etiquette. In the same palace was confined Bhikari Khan. He was under the custody of Khwajah Muhammad Said Khan.

As fate would have it, Muhammad Amin Khan died within one year of the same illness which had seized his father. The right side of his body had wholly turned blue. People said that Bhikari Khan poisoned the innocent child through the eunuch Zamarrud who had access to him.

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

Momin Khan becomes Governor

The death of the boy gave rise to heartrending lamentations in the palace. Momin Khan, the son-in-law of Muinulmulk was made the Governor. His wife, the daughter of Muinulmulk, had however died. All power, however was with Mughalani Begum. Three eunuchs, Miyan Khush Faham, Miyan Arjumand and Miyan Muhabbat became her great favourites. All affairs passed through them. But the peculiar position was that they did not agree amongst themselves. The affairs of the State fell into disorder day by day. Momin Khan was helpless.

The Begum was invloved in scandals. People linked her name with the Bakhshi, Gazi Beg Khan. It no longer remained a secret, but was on the lips of all persons, big and small.

Khwajah Muhammad Said Khan who had the custody of Bhikari Khan, became aware of this " fissure in the family honour of the late Nawab (that is, scandal). "

Bhikari Khan said to Khwajah Muhammad Said Khan " Send for Khwajah Mirza Khan. Let him come soon and set right the affairs here. A Bakhshi should have a pure reputation. He should not be the cause of dishonour. "

My affairs

After the death of the Nawab (Muinulmulk), and the dominance of the Khwajah Saras (Eunuchs), our condition grew miserable. We boys were neglected by everyone. Nobody enquired as to who we were and what we were doing. Some sold their horses and arms. Others fell on evil ways. They indulged in debauchery. I resisted their advice for some time. But it was of no use. I had to yield. I too visited the houses of dancing girls. I fell in love with a girl named Moti. In a few days, I lost all that I possessed.

We used to roam about the streets. Our irresponsible wanderings provoked complaints from a few persons. These complaints reached the Begum. The Khwajah Sara Muharam Khan, and Mir Abdullah, were, in our childhood, our guardians. They said angrily " These boys have deteriorated very much. They should be corrected. These are purebred Mughals. After

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

the death of Muinulmulk, they have gone out of our control and have gone wild."

The Begum said to Qasim Khan "You have, these days, no work on hand. You keep a watch over these boys. Take them to your quarters and see that they do not commit disgraceful acts. Leave them out two hours after sunrise. Put them in, when there are two hours (Gharis) to go to sunset and close the doors. Do not allow them to go out of your locality."

We were thus placed under Qasim Khan for a period of one month. Qasim Khan had hardly fifty horsemen left with him. He had no access to the Begum. But due to our being placed under his supervision, Qasim Khan was able to establish some contact with the Begum.

Treachery of Khwajah Mirza Khan (*December* 1754)

It had been narrated above that Khwajah Mirza Khan had been appointed to take charge of Aminabad. He fought many engagements with the Sikhs and ruled that District. He also took possession of a few places near his district. He was successfully administering his district.

On receiving some communication about the affairs of the Begum from his brother Khwajah Muhammad Said Khan, Khwajah Mirza Khan left Aminabad (which is at a distance of twenty kos from Lahore) and suddenly appeared before Lahore. The Begum's newscarriers represented to her " This time Khwajah Mirza Khan seems to have come to Lahore with evil in his heart.".

The Begum said " He is a servant. It is impossible that he would be guilty of faithless acts."

Just at this time Khwajah Mirza Khan approached the palace. One or two attendants obstructed his passage. He killed them with his sword, and entered the palace. His Mughals started looting and plundering the palace. His brother Khwajah Ahamd Said Khan had already corrupted the Mughals in the palace. All these combined to plunder the palace thoroughly. By evening they had looted lakhs and lakhs worth of property. The Begum had sought refuge in another house.

Bhikari Khan persuaded Khwajah Mirza Khan to the following action. Momin Khan was to continue as the Governor.

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

Bhikari Khan however was to be the Deputy and all in all in the administration. The Mughals were asked to desist from plunder. But by this time nothing had been left unplundered. Mughal officers were posted to guard the palace. The Begum was again brought to the palace.

At that time I, (Miskin, *nom de plume* of the author) and Muhammad Aqil dressed in a coat of arms, went to the portico of the Begum and conveyed an oral message through eunuchs that Khwajah Mirza and Bhikari Khan were sitting together and if we were so ordered we could kill both of them instantly with one stroke.

The Begum forbade us from doing such a deed. She said "Khwajah Mirza Khan is just one man. If he is killed, every Mughal will turn into a Mirza Khan. Leave them alone,. . ."

We then returned. Night passed in this condition.

Next day about eight to nine thousand Purbia infantry, backed by artillery, attacked Mirza Khan. At that time there were thirty to forty Mughals with Mirza Khan. They hastily took control of the gates and the kettledrumroom and fired shots. On this news, all the Mughals scattered in the city assembled and attacked the Purbias, who were defeated.

The Begum was taken out of the palace and sent to her mother's residence in the city. Khwajah Mirza Khan appointed Arjumand, the Khwajah Sara (He was in the service of the Begum but had been under detention for a few months) who had contacts with Mirza Khan, and Ashoor Khan of Badakhshan to guard the palace of the Begum.

Khwajah Mirza Khan now set himself up as the Nawab. He put a studded aigrette on his head. He granted the titles of 'Khan' and awarded robes and ornaments to his Mughal captains. Ashur Ali Khan and others, why, even Bhikari Khan came after eight days to offer obeisance to Nawab Khwajah Mirza Khan. The other Mughal captains such as Bala Bash Khan, Farman Beg Khan, Ibrahim Quli Khan, Ismail Ali Khan, Haji Khan and others, who had been his equals in rank and position and quite independent of each other, caring for nobody, also came to pay their respects and produced all the documents before him for orders and signatures. After a few days, their mutual jealousy and enmity began to reappear. In spite of their repeated

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

promises of friendship and unity at dinners and entertainments of the dancing girls, they soon gave way to disagreement.

(With the usurpation of power by Khwajah Mirza Khan, the stage was set for the interference of Ahmad Shah Abdali, and the Mughal wazir Gaziuddin in the internal affairs of the Punjab.)

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

2

PUNJAB—1753-1758

Khwajah Mirza Khan as Governor

Operations against the Sikhs. Khwajah Qazi, a brother of Khwajah Mirza Khan, who had recently arrived from his native country was equipped with a force of five or six thousand troops and sent to conquer the surrounding region. Qasim Khan went in his train. Khwajah Qazi proved himself, in a few days, to be an unrivalled soldier. He fought and defeated the Sikhs.

Our Hardships

During these few months our allowances ceased to exist.

After a few days Khwajah Mirza Khan summoned us. We did not go. After we had been reduced to great straits, we approached the Begum. She said, 'You had better approach Khwajah Mirza Khan.'

Finding no other alternative we went to Mirza Khan. He received us very kindly. Our horses had been plundered. He gave us better horses in the place of old ones. A daily allowance of Rs. Two was fixed for each of us.

The Mughals advised against keeping us in Lahore. "These boys are Mughals. They have been brought up in the household of the Nawab. They might, at the crucial time, go over to the Nawab's family."

Acting on their advice Khwajah Mirza deputed us to bring treasures from the hills of Jammu.

Aman Khan's Arrival

Mughalani Begum had been reduced to great straits by Khwajah Mirza Khan. She opened up a secret correspondence

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

with Gaziuddin Khan (her daughter had been betrothed to him). the wazir of the Mughal emperor. She also wrote to Ahmad Shah Abdali who was in Qandahar. For this purpose her maternal uncle Khwajah Abdullah Khan had gone to Qandahar.

Ahmad Shah Abdali ordered Aman Khan to march to Lahore with ten thousand troops, consisting of Afghans and Rohillas from Kabul and Peshawar, and a few from among the Durrani and Qizalbash soldiers, and help Mughalani Begum.

He, accordingly, marched towards Lahore and arriving on the bank of the river Chenab, camped there. Khwajah Mirza Khan's brother Qazi Khwajah marched to the bank of the river with a force of five thousand Mughalia troops.

The Mughal Chiefs however, had no unity amongst themselves. In fact they were at logger heads with each other. They advised a retreat to Lahore where a battle could be fought.

In short, the Mughals left that place and came to Lahore within two days. Aman Khan followed them and camped at Shahdara.

The same day we returned from Jammu to Lahore. The Mughal captains established contacts with the Afghan army through Khwajah Abdullah Khan, then in the Afghan army. Aman Khan gave all necessary assurances to the Mughals. They then advised Khwajah Mirza Khan to go and see Aman Khan. Aman Khan was to be requested to appoint Khwajah Abdullah Khan as Governor and Diwan of Lahore while Khwajah Mirza Khan was to work as his Deputy. After the agreement had been confirmed, Khwajah Mirza Khan went to see Aman Khan. No sooner did the latter meet Khwajah Mirza Khan than he put Mirza Khan in prison. The Mughal captains who were priding themselves on their successful negotiations with the Afghans, were also thrown in prison.

Aman Khan arrived in Lahore. He gave a severe beating to the Mughal captains and plundered them of everything. The city of Lahore was given up to plunder. People suffered indescribable atrocities.

In the end, Aman Khan handed Bhikari Khan over to Mughalani Begum. Saying that the blood of the two (Muinulmulk and his son Muhammad Amin Khan), was on him, she

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

put him to death at once, observing that this was what he deserved (April 1755).

Mughalani Begam again Governor (*April* 1755)

Aman Khan installed Mughalani Begum as Governor and appointed Khwajah Abdullah Khan as her deputy. He then took the route to Qandahar. He took away the captive Mughal captains with him. One of these, Haji Khan was killed on the way, as he had behaved impudently.

Mughalani Begum, called Khwajah Abdullah Khan (who was also her maternal uncle) and desired that he should act as her subordinate as he was her deputy.

Abdullah Khan resented having to serve a woman. He started acting on his own. He raised about fifteen to twenty thousand troops. When the Begam saw that Abdullah Khan wanted to usurp power, she too started recruiting men. She collected about two to three thousand troops.

Meanwhile we tried hard to gain access to the Begam. The attendants and Khwajah Saras turned us away, saying " You are Mughals and have treacherously joined the other party ". Nobody announced our presence to the Begam. The two to three thousand persons recruited by the Begam were enrolled in the contingents of the Khwajah Saras and other officers.

Meanwhile conflict between Khwajah Abdullah Khan and the Begam flared up. His troops launched an attack from all sides. The Begam's troops were few in number. They were repulsed.

I myself and my colleague Afrasiab were of no importance. Still we collected fifteen Purbia musketeers and entered the palace. The troops of Khwajah Abdullah Khan fired upon us. A few female attendants of the palace were wounded. But we started firing our guns, as much as it was possible for us to do so. By this time it was afternoon. Nawab Mir Momin Khan, and the Afghan agent Hadi Khan persuaded Khwajah Abdulla Khan to arrive at a compromise. The disturbances ended. The same day, the Begam was conveyed to her mother's house. Hadi Khan, the Afghan Agent who had fifty horsemen with him was asked to keep watch over her.

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

The Begam was very much pleased at the services rendered by us. She said " If, by God's grace, I get back the Governorship, I will reward your services well ". At that time I must have been nineteen years old. Next day I went to the Begam. She, desiring that I should keep myself aloof from the disturbances, wanted to turn me away. The Khwajah Saras represented that I had fought manfully the previous day. The Begam then called me to her presence.

She asked me " Why are you wearing the Bazuband (bracelet round the arm)". I replied, " In our country it is the system to put a bracelet round the arm as an amulet, and pearls in the ear, in the case of children. "

The Begam said " You better depart from this palace. God willing I will make you a gift of valuable diamonds. "

I had an adopted sister from among the Mughals who had brought me from Turkey. She was married to one Adras Beg. During the time the Begam was under detention I stayed with this family. A child was born to my sister. It was named Iwaz Badal Beg.

The Begams' dealings with Gaziuddin

In the meanwhile Gaziuddin Imadulmulk had deposed the Mughal emperor Ahamad Shah (Second June 1754). Alamgir second was declared as the Emperor. From that day the affairs of the Mughal Empire fell into disorder and decline. Gaziuddin became the wazir, and wielded all power at Delhi.

When Mughalani Begam was deprived of all power and placed in detention she secretely wrote letters to Gaziuddin, the wazir of the Mughal Emperor. In the letters she wrote :

" Ahmad Shah Durrani helped me from Qandahar whenever I was oppressed. If you help me, it will be proper. My daughter is betrothed to you. If you cannot come, at least send a well equipped army in whatever way you think best and call my daughter to your presence. "

On receipt of a number of letters from the Begam, Gaziuddin took the prince Ali Gohar, son of the emperor with him. He left Delhi (15 January 1756) and reached Sirhind (8 February 1756).

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

Adina Beg Khan was the fauzdar of the Doab, administering that territory on behalf of the Begam. He sent word to Gaziuddin.

"You please camp at Sirhind. Send a Khwajah Sara with two to three thousand troops. I will also send my troops. Lahore can be secured by a stratagem. There is a large army in Lahore. Your arrival in Lahore might alarm the army and create disturbances which it would take a long time to put down."

Gaziuddin thought that the advice given by Adina Beg Khan was proper. He sent his Khwajah Sara Naseem Khan with two to three thousand troops with these instructions, "Go to Adina Beg Khan and act according to his instructions."

As soon as these troops teached Adina Beg Khan, he deputed Siddiq Beg Khan with ten thousand troops to accompany the Khwajah Sara. The army thus constituted arrived at Lahore and camped at Shah Ganj. They then rode out in full splendour to the Begam's residence and offered their greetings to her. From there they went to the residence of Khwajah Abdullah Khan. He was, after all, the brother of the late Governor, the Khan Bahadur (Zakaria Khan) and the son of Abdussamad Khan. Khwajah Abdullah Khan, in accordance with court etiquette, treated them with consideration and gave them robes of honour. They then returned to their camp.

Nawab Abdullah Khan knew that he would be arrested through some stratagem in a day or two. He therefore fled during the night towards Jammu.

Next morning Mughalani Begam truimphantly entered her palace and started administering her office.

She then busied herself in the marriage preparations of her daughter. During the course of one month all arrangements were made. The required materials etc. were all obtained. It was also decided as to who should accompany the Begam's daughter. We boys were anxious to go. But no one took us to the presence of the Begam. The Begam had promised to give me a diamond ornament. I went many times to the palace. But no one announced me. One day however, a female servant informed the Begam about me. She called me and asked "Had the late Nawab (Muinulmulk) decided as to who among you was to be sent along with my daughter?"

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

I replied " The Nawab Saheb had spoken about it." He said, "I am not sending you with my daughter as a part of the dowry." He then picked up four Mughal boys and told the Khwajah Sara Arjumand that they should accompany his daughter. Of these four boys, one is dead and the other three have, since the last fight, left.

The Begam was pleased with what I told her and said " I am not sending you as part of the dowry." She then turned towards her servants and said " Who from among these boys fought against the troops of Abdullah Khan, on my behalf, and to whom I had promised to give ear ornaments ? "

The Khwajah Saras pointed to me. The Begam then said to me " What sort of ear-rings do you want; diamond or pearl ? I will give them to you. "

I said " Kindly give me ear-rings of pearls. "

At this the Khwajah Saras laughed at my preferring pearls to diamonds inspite of diamonds being of higher value. I said to them.

" I know diamonds are costlier than pearls. But pearls appear whiter to me. Besides, a man must have other suitable and excellent dress to match with diamonds. "

The Begam was pleased at my remark. She said " This boy has more understanding than the other boys. He is sure to be of importance in future. Since the boy has entered our service, I have noticed that his answers are full of understanding."

The Begam then said " I had resolved upon a plan. It was like this. If this boy preferred pearls to diamonds, I would like to get him married to a suitable girl. There is a girl, Moti by name, who is in our palace. I will get her married to this boy. She is a good girl. When Khwajah Mirza Khan created disturbances and his Mughals plundered the palace, she removed the women of the late Nawab's harem to her house. I told her to go back to her parents. She replied ' I have nothing to do with them. I am a servant in this palace and I will continue as such. ' At that very moment I made a promise to her that I would find a good husband for her. What I had desired has now happened. There can be no better marriage than this one. "

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

My Marriage

The Begam then called us and said " You are turning wild and crazy. You have earned discredit in the city. I will get you married. "

I said " I have no desire to get married in India. "

The Khwajah Saras said " the Begam is kind to you. Pay your respects to her. Do not be impudent. "

I did not agree. But the Begam said " You are speaking nonsense. I will get you married forcibly. Not only that, I would get the other four or five boys also married. They have attained youth. It is not proper. " The Begam decided upon the betrothal of the following persons.

Myself, Muhammad Aquil, Darab Beg, Muqim Beg, Faiz Muhammad Beg and Muhammad Beg.

All of them made their obeisance to her. But I did not say anything. I came out and went to my (adopted) sister. I told her what had happened. She felt that all things considered, it would be proper for me to agree. No sooner had I returned to my quarters, than I was called to the palace. At the gate a Khwajah Sara, Balal by name, took impressions for six gold rings with jewels in them. The Begam ordered that we should be taken to a building close to the palace. The guards were asked not to let us out.

We remained there till midnight. When the Begam was free from her work, she called us. We made our obeisance. We were each given a ring, a Dushala (shawl), and one Ashrafi.

The Begam then ordered that the marriage ceremonies be started. The Hina (Mehendi) was applied to us in her presence. Seven trays of Hina had been brought out by the female attendants. We were each of us once again given an Ashrafi and a Dushala.

We left the place when it was two hours to go to dawn.

Next day, an hour after dawn we came back. Courtezans and dancing girls gave demonstrations of song and dance. When night fell, we were decked in costly robes, and taken in a grand marriage procession through the streets. There were elephants, drums and musical instruments and fire works in the procession. We went to the tomb of Miran Hind Shah Gazi.

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

After paying our respects at his and other's tombs, the procession returned. The marriage ceremony was then performed according to the religious rites. After the ceremony we were taken inside. All arrangements for our nuptials had been made.

Afterwards, we took leave of the Begam. We were given, clothes, ornaments, and other material. The value of the material received by each one of us was about twelve thousand Rupees. In fact I received more. The Begam gave me pearl ear-rings. She said " It was for your sake, that I got the other boys married."

A day after this the Begam sent her daughter Umda Begam to Gaziuddin's camp. Her escort consisted of three to four thousand infantry and cavalry. Mir Momin Khan, a distinguished citizen of Lahore accompanied the party. The dowry consisted of various and costly goods (fourth of March 1756).

I received a Mansab of one hundred Rupees per month.

Gaziuddin ousts Mughalani Begam (*March* 1756)

Gaziuddin thought to himself as follows " Mughalani Begam is a woman. That she carries on the administration in Lahore like a man, is considered a disgrace by people. One's sense of self respect would not tolerate this. It would be highly improper to allow her to continue as Governor, as it is a matter of honour and prestige. "

Gaziuddin, accordingly deputed Syed Jamiluddin, a man with experience and understanding with ten thousand troops. Ten Khwajah Saras were also sent.

Syed Jamiluddin marched without a halt. No one was informed of his journey. He entered Lahore and suddenly surrounded the Begam's palace. The Khwajah Saras entered the palace and explaining matters to the Begam, brought her out. She was placed on an elephant, and sent away to Sirhind (28 March 1756).

Khwajah Momin Khan was appointed Governor. But all power was to rest with Syed Jamiluddin Khan who was appointed his deputy.

We went to Syed Jamiluddin Khan and requested him to return our horses. He said " Here are four horses. Take them.

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

The other horses are with Khwajah Momin Khan. I have no control over him."

In short we took four horses. I myself, Muhamad Aquil, Hardar, and Rustam mounted the horses and accompanied the Begam. Within ten or twelve days the Begam reached the camp of Gaziuddin at Sirhind. Gaziuddin received her four miles from the camp. He got down from his horse and paid his respects to her. The Begam entered the camp with all pomp. Naseem Khan, the Khwajah Sara was posted to the Begam's tent.

After a few days, the camp moved towards Machhiwada. By an accident, Khane Khanan, the brother of Muinulmulk, Nawab Begam, the mother of Muinulmulk and Mughalani Begam, missed their way during the march and marched towards Kot Rao Kala. A distance of fifteen Kos separated the party from the camp. On hearing of this, Gaziuddin, fearing that Mughalani Begam might go away, sent two camel drivers to fetch the party back. As soon as they reached the party, the Begam ordered her elephants. Naseem Khan the Khwajah Sara said "The men are tired from their long march. We may move from here before dawn." But she did not agree to it. We marched and returned to the camp before dawn. We four horsemen were with the Begam. We were very much tired. We went to sleep. Gaziuddin came to pay his respects to the Begam. He said, "Where was the necessity for so much hurry? The roads are not safe."

The Begam said "These four boys were with me, they would fight even if four thousand persons were to face them."

Gaziuddin narrated this matter to Khala Begam (aunt). She did not like Mughalani Begam. She said to Gaziuddin "This boy (meaning myself), who wears pearls in his ears, has illicit connection with the Begam."

Gaziuddin replied "If this is a fact, I will have him murdered in a day or two."

This news reached Mughalani Begam. She called us and said "You and Muhammad Aquil are married and have families of your own. You should leave this camp today only and that too immediately. Your houses are in Lahore. I give leave to you to depart."

Accordingly we took leave of the Begam and returned to Lahore in a few days.

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

Syed Jamiluddin Khan, the Governor of Lahore.

Syed Jamiluddin Khan was an experienced man. He was a just ruler. I myself and Muhammad Aquil went to see him. He was very kind to us and took us in his service. We attended on him night and day. My other colleagues who, for lack of horses, had remained in Lahore, received daily allowances.

After two or three days, I said to Syed Jamiluddin Khan "My companions are reduced to great straits".

He said "They are gamblers and debauches".

I replied "If they had been taken proper care of, they would not have dared to behave in this manner. Much depends on their masters".

He said "Do you stand security for them? If so, write a bond."

I did so immediately. My companions were then provided with arms and after a few days, when the Governor was pleased with their services, they were given horses and a monthly salary of seventy to eighty Rupees.

Myself, Muhammad Aquil and Darab Beg were appointed Mansabdars.

Syed Jamiluddin was stern in justice. It so happened that a prominent man had murdered some one. On the complaint having been received, Syed Jamiluddin ordered the murderer to be executed. His head was paraded through the streets so that others should take a lesson from this punishment.

The merchants used to sell grain at high prices. The Governor took bonds from them and instructed them to sell grain at low price. This did not have any effect. When the Governor rode out, the citizens complained of high prices. He immediately called the head merchant and put him to death. This had a great effect on the citizens. They were very thankful to him.

Syed Jamiluddin was strict in the observance of religious duties. He was a brave and gallant soldier. I had experience of this once or twice. He went on a hunting expedition towards the village of Sharaqpur where ten or fifteen thousand Sikhs appeared and fell on him. He commanded only about one thousand horse and foot. With this small number he stuck to his ground and repelled the Sikhs.

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

Jamiluddin Khan ousted from Governorship (*4th October* 1756)

Khwajah Abdullah Khan had, on the appearance of the troops of Gaziuddin, run away from Lahore to Jammu. He now went to Qundahar to Ahmad Shah Abdali and said to him.

" Gaziuddin Khan, the Wazir of Hindustan, arrived at Sirhind. Thence, he sent a large army to Lahore. You have called Mughalani Begam your daughter. They have taken her away to Delhi. This is an insult to the Afghans. If Khwajah Mirza Khan and other Mughals who are under detention with you are released and allowed to accompany me, and if a force is appointed by you, I will occupy Lahore. The province was in your empire. It is not good that troops from Hindustan— should return to Lahore and occupy it. "

Ahmad Shah Abdali, released Khwajah Mirza Khan and other Mughals. He posted them in the service of Khwajah Abdullah Khan. A general of his, Samad Khan by name was sent with an army of a few thousand foot and cavalry with Abdullah Khan.

The army then marched towards Lahore and camped at Shahdara.

Syed Jamiluddin Khan made preparations to face the army.

Adina Beg Khan, fauzdar of the Doab, had entered into an agreement with Syed Jamiluddin Khan that in case of an emergency he would supply him with ten or fifteen thousand troops with all their expenses. At the time of the approach of the Durrani troops Syed Jamiluddin Khan wrote to Adina Beg Khan. He replied " The Durrani army is considerable. It is difficult to deal with it. It would be advisable if you come over to the Doab. We can then unite and see what can be done. "

Syed Jamiluddin Khan thought that the advice was proper. He accordingly marched away from that place (Lahore). I too, left my things at Lahore and taking the womenfolk with me, marched away and in a few days joined the army in the Doab. Myself and Muhammad Aquil then sent our womenfolk along with Muquim Beg and Darab Beg with an escort to Delhi.

After that I returned to Lahore to remove my goods. As Mirza Khan was at Lahore, I thought that I would receive some consideration.

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

As it happened, Mirza Khan had gone to Aminabad that very day in pursuit of the Sikhs.

At Lahore

It might be remembered that the late Nawab Muinulmulk had selected a few boys to accompany his daughter Umda Begam. One of these boys, Gulam Ali Beg had at the time of the disturbances raised by Abdullah Khan, plundered the Khwajah Saras of Mughalani Begam. He had been, therefore, imprisoned by them. It was I who had been instrumental in getting him released.

This boy now turned against me. He complained to Abdussamad Khan, the Afghan general that I had robbed him of his goods. I protested, but it was of no use. The boy had brought a few persons. He told them that if I were not killed, he would be killed by me.

At this, these persons took me to a desolate place. I would surely have lost my life had a person passing by not recognised me. My Guards then gave up the idea of killing me. I was detained by them for the whole night. Next day I sold my goods and according to agreement gave them two Hundred and fifty Rupees and obtained my deliverance.

It was also represented to Abdullah Khan that at the time of my marriage, Mughalani Begam had given me gifts worth a lac of Rupees. Abdullah Khan sent men to apprehend me. With great difficulty I escaped and came to my house. The journey was full of danger. But I found three or four companions and immediately left Lahore.

I stayed for two days in the camp of Adina Beg Khan. Myself and Muhammad then started on our journey towards Delhi.

My family is robbed

Prior to my departure for Lahore, I had sent my family to Delhi. On their way from the Doab they halted at a place called Rahon. It was at this place that by God's grace a daughter was born to me. She was named Mah Khanam. My family then moved to Sirhind where they stayed in a Sarai.

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

It so happened that the same night thieves broke into the Sarai. The guards were sleeping. The thieves took away the two boxes which contained our valuables and those of Muhammad Aquil and Darab Beg. Next day when my womenfolk woke up, they found the jewellery gone. The valuables which I had obtained at the time of my marriage were with Muquim Beg. They too were taken away.

I received this news when I was at Jullundhar. Strange as it may seem, the theft in the Sarai took place at the same time that I was about to be killed in Lahore.

My family then moved on to Delhi. After eight days, I reached Sirhind. Muhammad Said Khan Qabchak was the Governor of Sirhind at that time. He was, at that time camping at Thaneshwar. I reached Delhi within three days, but as I was virtually starving for lack of money, I went to Thaneshwar and saw Muhammad Said Khan.

He said " I had already been informed of the theft that occurred in the Sarai. I have issued strict instructions to persons concerned at Sirhind. God willing, you will be able to recover your stolen goods. Be easy in mind. "

Qasim Khan, to whom I have referred previously, was in the service of Muhammad Said Khan. He told the latter that I had no money with me. I then obtained forty Rupees and leaving the place arrived at Delhi within four days.

Delhi is a wonderful city. As soon as I reached Delhi, Mughalani Begam was informed of my arrival.

At Delhi (*close of* 1756)

From that day she began sending two trays of food for me. Six seers of grain per day were sent to feed the horses. My womenfolk, since the day of their arrival, were with the Begam in her palace.

Afterwards, the Begam spoke to Gaziuddin. I was allotted a house outside the Ajmere Gate adjacent to the School, known as Gaziuddin Khan School. My family joined me.

Abdali's Reported Invasion Panic in Delhi (*close of* 1756)

Ten to fifteen days had hardly elasped when the news spread

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

that Ahmad Shah Abdali was coming. A great panic seized the city. Extremely alarmed, the citizens began to flee the city. The advisors of Gaziuddin said to him.

"You had despatched troops to Lahore and brought Mughalani Begam to this place. All this disturbance of the Durrani is due to this act. After the death of Muinulmulk, Ahmad Shah had addressed Mughalani Begam as his daughter. She has, besides, secretly been corresponding with Ahmad Shah and informing him about her situation.

Now, the proper step would be to enter into an agreement with the Begam and send her to Ahmad Shah, so that she could persuade Ahmad Shah to return to his country.

This raw youth, Gaziuddin, did not understand the wiles of the advisors. He acted according to their advice. He despached the Begam, to Ahmad Shah. She was accompanied by four hundred troops which she had raised.

Mughalani Begam on way to Abdali

Mughalani Begam left Delhi and reached Sonepat, the same day at nightfall, from which place she wrote letters to Ahmad Shah, Shahwali Khan and Jahan Khan. She asked her attendant. Hasan Beg to convey the letters immediately. He agreed. Before dawn the Begam started from Sonepat. She was riding on an elephant. She called Hasan Beg and said " Take the letter and depart quickly. "

He said, " The roads were not safe previously. Now that the news of the arrival of Durrani has spread, disturbances are taking place everywhere. It would not be possible to go. "

At this, the Begam got angry. She abused him. Three or four times she cried out " There are four hundred troops accompanying me. Is there no one among these, who could convey these letters ? ".

No one replied. I replied, " The letter may be handed over to me. "

The Begam said, " You are yet a child. I require an experienced man who would be acquainted with proper etiquette and who would deliver the letters and bring back replies."

The Begam then asked other persons again and again to

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

convey the letters. None came forward. I then said, "The letters may be given to me. God willing I will deliver them safely."

She, at last, handed over the letters to me, saying, "I leave thee in the protection of God. Take some one with you." I told her that I would take Gulam Shah, one of my companions with me. We then left her. We arrived at Panipat in the morning (at about nine o'clock.)

Hasan Beg had felt ashamed. He begged forgiveness of the Begam and had started. He met me in Panipat and said, "You humiliated me in the presence of the Begam. You do not understand the dangers of the road."

I said, "The Begam has brought me up from my childhood. How is it possible that on the plea of dangers and difficulties I should shrink from her commands?" The Durrani army fled the city. Such of those who could not run away gathered round us. They said, "The Shah Durrani (Abdali) is still at Attak. Najabat Khan of Kunjpura has given his Afghan followers, the uniforms of Afghan soldiers and is indulging in depredations on the road. On hearing this, Hasan Beg, and the people of the city begged me not to go further. Finding no other alternative, I stayed for a short while in Panipat.

In the afternoon the Begam arrived at Panipat. I presented the people who had brought news of Abdali's whereabouts, to the Begam. They narrated, what they had heard, to her.

The Begam got wild. She rebuked them. She said, "Papers about Ahmad Shah, Shah Wali Khan and Jahan Khan have been received in the army which show that the Durrani's (Abdali) army is today in Karnal. Karnal is hardly fourteen Kos from this place. Yet these men of Hindustan are still ignorant of this matter." She then sent the Chief of the Harkaras with me towards Karnal.

We marched with all speed and reached Karnal by evening.

Sardar Jahan Khan had arrived in Karnal with his ten thousand troops in advance of Ahmad Shah. Ahmad Shah himself had camped at a distance of ten Kos in the rear.

Ahmad Shah Abdali and Mughalani Begam

When it was two Ghadis left to sunset, I reached the camp

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

of Jahan Khan. His tents were at an eminence. We had Afghan headgears on us. He entered his tents. We reached his tent. On our arrival being announced he called us inside. I delivered the letter addressed to him. As soon as he read the letter he immediately deputed three or four officers, with one hundred soldiers to receive the Begam. Hasan Beg was also sent with them. Myself and Gulam Shah were treated with consideration.

Next day in the morning the Begam arrived. She entered the tent specially prepared for her. She had talks with Jahan Khan.

Jahan Khan then left four officers with her. He himself marched forward to Panipat. The same afternoon Ahmad Shah Abdali arrived at Karnal. The Begam occupied a tent near the one occupied by Shah Wali Khan. She held talks with Shah Wali Khan. At Karnal, I accidentally came across Gulam Ali Beg, the person who had brought me into so much trouble at Lahore. He was trying to sell two seers of silver to a goldsmith. I caught hold of him and brought him to my tent. I told the Begam about this person, and how he had brought calamity on me.

The Begam said, "It would not be proper at this time to take up his case."

I said to myself, "It would not be proper to give up this person." So I brought him out and said to him, " the Begam has ordered that you should be taken out of the camp and killed and that she would take the responsibility for this action, were Shah Wali Khan to enquire about it."

On hearing this, Gulam Ali Beg fell at my feet. He handed over the silver which he had plundered somewhere, a sum of Rupees fifty and a bond for, one Hundred Rupees. He thus freed himself from my clutches and went away. I never saw him afterwards. Nor do I know what happened to him.

Next day, Ahmad Shah Abdali marched and arrived at Panipat. The day of his arrival he called Mughalani Begam. (On her request that he should return), Ahmad Shah said "If you had come to Lahore and asked me to return, I would have returned from Lahore. Now that I have arrived only forty Kos from Delhi, I do not think it proper to return without seeing

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

Delhi and without meeting the king."

For the sake of the Begam, Ahmad Shah, however, wrote letters of assurance and comfort to Gaziuddin. He handed over the letters to the Begam and desired that she should send them through her own men.

The Begam then returned to her tent. She called me and said, "carry this letter to Gaziuddin". She also wrote a secret letter giving the gist of her conversation with Ahmad Shah. She put this letter in my headgear and said "Give this to Gaziuddin and also whisper in his ears as follows : If you do not have the strength to fight them, leave Delhi and go to whatever place you think proper. Otherwise you will suffer great troubles."

Later, the Begam said to Shah Wali Khan, the Wazir, " My men are carrying the letters of Ahmad Shah to Delhi. Provide some escort so that they will not be molested on the way".

Shah Wali Khan replied, "I am leaving tomorrow with ten thousand troops. Let your messengers be with me."

I, accordingly, accompanied Shah Wali Khan for two days during his march to Narela. I then said to Shah Wali Khan, "If you permit me, I will go ahead." Shah Wali Khan said, "Gaziuddin himself is coming here. If he does not come today I will send you away in the evening." I therefore stayed in the camp.

Gaziuddin Arrives in the Afghan Camp (19*th January* 1977)

When Shah Wali Khan's camp reached Sarai Mihr Parwar, which is ten Kos distant from Delhi, Gaziuddin appeared with an escort of two thousand troops and a few elephants. To prevent Gaziuddin from changing his mind and returning to Delhi, Shah Wali Khan had sent twenty thousand troops towards Shalamar, Badli and the place of Majnun Faqir. These had been sent in batches with instructions to take all precautions. The two prime ministers, Shah Wali Khan and Gaziuddin met at Sarai Mihr Parwar with all etiquette befitting such meeting. They held talks amongst themselves. It was decided that Gaziuddin should see the Shah Abdali and then leave the camp the next day. Abdali had arrived near Sonepat. Gaziuddin and

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

Shah Wali Khan reached the camp of Abdali. Four thousand Afghan troops were posted round the camp of Gaziuddin both as escort and watch. The meeting with the Shah remained in abeyance. Next day the Shah Abdali marched towards Narela. The Afghan army now turned towards Delhi.

At that time, Mughalani Begam called me and said, " You go quickly to Delhi. Go to our house, the palace of Saadullah Khan. Remove the womenfolk and other goods from that palace. There are two lac Rupees in the palace. You remove all these. Take them to the house known as Shish Mahal, situated near the Gaziuddin School outside the Ajmeri gate. All this must be done in one day. You protect them with all care."

I left the same day for Delhi and carried out the instructions of the Begam .

Ahmad Shah arrives in Delhi (28th *January* 1757)

Next day the Emperor Alamgir Second, who, at heart, was not pleased with Gaziuddin, arrived to meet Ahmad Shah. The same day Alamgir Second and Ahmad Shah moved towards Delhi. After having reached Delhi, Ahmad Shah persuaded Alamgir Second to bestow the robes of prime ministership on Khane Khanan, the brother of the late Muinulmulk. But the troops of Ahmad Shah, who knew nothing except plundering and oppressing people, committed terrible atrocities on the people of the city. They defy description.

A few days passed. One day (20th February 1757) the Mughalani Begam presented to Ahmad Shah, trays full of Jewels, some her own and some meant for her daughters' dowry. Ahmad Shah was very much pleased with her. He said, "Hitherto I have styled you my daughter, but from today I shall call you my son and give you the title of Sultan Mirza".

Ahmad Shah conferred on her his own tiara, aigrette, cloak and other apparel which he had on him at that time. The Begam paid her respects to him and said, "You have been so kind to me. You have removed Gaziuddin and given the prime ministership to Khane Khanan. Gaziuddin is my Son-in-law. Kindly, for my sake restore him to the prime ministership".

Ahmad Shah said, "I will confer the Wazirship on him. I

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

have, however heard that he has not yet married your daughter".

The Begam said, "Through your grace, the marriage is fixed for to-night." The same night Ahmad Shah handed over gifts and money to Shah Wali Khan and Jahan Khan. They took part in the ceremonies. The same night the marriage of Gaziuddin with Umda Begam (20-21 February 1757) took place. Next morning Ahmad Shah gave the robes of prime ministership to Gaziuddin.

Afterwards, through the instigation of Alamgir Second, Ahmad Shah forcibly married the daughter of Muhammad Shah. Alamgir's daughter was married to Ahmad Shah's son Taimur Shah.

After some days, Ahmad Shah marched towards Mathura (22nd February 1757). Mathura is a great pilgrimage centre of the Hindus. Mughalani Begam accompanied him. Many Khwajah Saras were in attendance on her. I went with the Begam. The people of the city of Mathura were massacred. Jahan Khan marched towards Agra. He laid waste a few villages in that region and returned in a few days.

At that time Ahmad Shah had a son. His name was Taimur Shah. Jahan Khan was made the Vazir of Taimur Shah. All the material required befitting his position was given to Taimur Shah.

Mughalani Begam Gets Grant of Districts:

Ahmad Shah Abdali's intention was to march to Agra. In those days he was very considerate to the Mughalani Begam. He granted her the fief of Doab Jullundhar, Jammu and Kashmir.

Mughalani Begam paid her respects to him. She appointed Khwajah Ibrahim Khan as her Deputy for Kashmir. Jammu was confirmed in the name of the Rajah of that territory. The Doab was handed over to Adina Beg Khan. The Begam said to Khwajah Ibrahim Khan, "You raise a few thousand troops. You take my younger daughter Sahibzadi with you. You may leave this place and join the troops of Adina Beg Khan".

Accordingly Khwajah Ibrahim Khan camped for a few days in the locality of Katra Mahaldar Khan. He raised the necessary equipment, although on a small scale.

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

At that time Ahmad Shah had returned from Mathura (end of March 1757).

Tahmas Khan's Departure to Sirhind

One day Mughalani Begam returned to her palace. Her daughter, the Sahibzadi, was already in the camp. But the necessary means of conveyance or the equipment were not there. The Begam became angry. She ordered conveyances to be be procured from wherever available. I said, " Please appoint one Daroga for each item of the camp equipment so that they would strive to procure them."

The Begam agreed. She entrusted food arrangements to me. The Superintendance of the kitchen was entrusted to Muhammad Aqil. Similar arrangements were made for other sections. I then said to the Begam, "When it is time to do some work we are ready. When, however, favours and rewards are to be distributed, the Khwajah Saras are supposed to be more deserving."

The Begam said "You speak the truth. What post do you want for yourself ? " I said, "Wherever your authority is established, of that place I may be given the Kotwalship (Police prefect)". She said, "Consider yourself as appointed".

At that very moment I procured a bullock cart and putting the required materials in it, I sent the bullock cart, ahead. I myself then followed it.

I met the advance equipment of Ahmad Shah's camp moving on the way. Sometimes I would be ahead of them. Sometimes they would precede me. But if the cart broke down on the way nobody stayed with me. I would be alone.

After getting the cart repaired I would move along. In this way I took the equipment given to me safely to the camp.

At the camp which was a big one, I began to get a daily allowance of five Rupees. I employed about fifty people and entrusted to them the task of guarding the property in the camp.

In a few days we reached Sirhind. The Begam's daughter stayed at Sirhind. Khwajah Ibrahim Khan moved with his troops towards the Doab to join Adina Beg Khan. I stayed in attendance on the Begam's daughter.

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

One day, I came to know that the woman who was in charge of food arrangements, before I was appointed to that post, had spoken evil words about me. I said to myself, "Superintendance of women's food arrangements, should be exercised by women. It is not befitting me."

Accordingly, the same day I left without obtaining leave and joined the camp of Khwajah Ibrahim Khan. There, I started carrying out the duties of the Kotwal, to which post I had been appointed.

I take the robes to Adina Beg Khan

Dilaram was the agent of Adina Beg Khan. His uncle was with Mughalani Begam. Mughalani Begam had sent the robes of appointment through Gurdayal, a relative of Dilaram. When I was leaving the Begam, Dilaram's uncle said to me, "Gurdayal is taking the robes of appointment to Adina Beg Khan. He should be taken care of on the way ".

When I reached the camp of Khwajah Ibrahim Khan, I spotted a Hindu sitting at a distance. He had some robes with him. I immediately concluded that he must be the person entrusted with the carrying of the robes of honour. I called him and having made enquiries, said to him " Dilaram's uncle has spoken to me. The Begam has also written to say that it would not be proper to entrust a Hindu with the carrying of robes, and that I should take the robes to Adina Beg Khan ".

Gurdayal, on hearing my words, foolishly handed over the robes to me. I asked him to stay in my camp. He wrote a letter to Dilaram, saying that the robes of Adina Beg Khan were being brought by Taimur Beg (myself). Dilaram immediately understood that the person must be myself and that I might have used some trick.

When I received his letter, I debated on what I should do. I postponed a reply to his letter and leaving Jullundhar, I reached Hajipur. Adina Beg's army was, out of fear of the Afghan army, established at a distance of twenty five Kos from Hajipur in the hills at a place known as Khali Balwan. At Hajipur I received a letter from Dilaram as follows "You leave the camp of Khwajah

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

Ibrahim and come immediately to this place so that I could have a look at the robes. If there is anything amiss it could be set right".

Accordingly the same night I left the camp and marching with an escort of two horsemen, reached the camp of Adina Beg Khan early in the morning. I went to the tent of Dilaram and handed over the robes to him. He asked, "Where is the Sanad? (order of appointment). I said "The Sanad is with the robes. The letter addressed to you must be with Gurdayal. The Begam Saheb sent me after Gurdayal without any letter, with instructions that I should convey the robes as, she said, a Mughal carrying the robes would invite consideration. I have no knowledge of any other matter". Dilaram praised me and said "You have spoken the truth."

The next day Khwajah Ibrahim arrived with his troops in the camp.

Adina Beg, having prepared the farmanbari (place to receive farmans) received the robes from me with all respects. He then entered his camp to the accompaniment of drums. He then entertained Khwajah Ibrahim and the troops to suitable feastings and festivities. Two days after this event, Khwajah Ibrahim Khan marched away towards Jammu. I stayed in the camp of Adina Beg Khan. I was treated with distinction. Two trays of excellent food used to be sent to me twice a day. For drinking I was supplied with iced water.

My friend Muquim Beg had sent to me a present of a Turra (to be attached to the head gear) from Mathura. I was using it during my journey from Delhi to the camp of Adina Beg Khan. I appointed a person as my deputy and sent him with my attendants to accompany Khwajah Ibrahim Khan. I wanted to have an aigrette to match with the Kalgi (Turra). But I did not have the money to get one prepared. Adina Beg Khan had decided to give me two thousand Rupees, one horse and robes at the time of my departure. But this was to happen only at the proper time.

Adina Beg and the Afghans :

I stayed for a few days in the camp of Adina Beg Khan. In the meanwhile news was received that Ahmad Shah Abdali

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

had left Lahore, and moved towards Qandahar (April 1757). The prince Taimur had been given the governance of Lahore. Sardar Jahan Khan was appointed as the minister of Taimur.

Sardar Jahan Khan plundered a few cities and villages of the Doab.

One day Adina Beg Khan called me. He showed me the order of Taimur Shah and the letter of Jahan Khan. Taimur Shah's farman was as follows.

" Ahmad Shah Durrani had intended to go to the Deccan first. That is why he had bestowed this province on the Begam. Now that he has given up the idea of going to the Deccan, he has conferred this province on me (May 1757). You should now come to our presence. If you fail to do so, the whole of the Doab will be laid waste. We will also enter the hills and fight with you".

Adina Beg Khan asked "What should be done now? "

I said "The Begam has accompanied Ahmad Shah. Write a letter to her and enclose a copy of the Farman with the letter. Keep the agents of Taimur Shah entertained, and delay matters until a reply is received."

Adina Beg liked the idea. He praised me. He called the Munshi (writer) and ordered that letters be prepared. He then said "Through whom should I send the letters ? "

I said, "I will go".

He said "And if the Begam has gone with Ahmad Shah to Qandahar?" I replied "I will go to Qandahar". I further said to him "The Begam has written to say that her daughter was in Sirhind and that she should be taken to Adina Beg Khan 's camp. She should be given six thousand Rupees for her expenses". At that very moment, Adina Beg Khan despatched a letter to Sirhind which was at a distance of eighty Kos. In a few days, the Begam's daughter arrived in the hills of Jammu. She was given six thousand Rupees for her expenses.

At that time, out of folly I left Adina Beg's camp. Without taking leave of him I went to the Jammu hills. I took letters from the Begam's daughter. My family was with the Begam's daughter. I met my people. I told my colleagues that I would go to the Begam who was at Qandahar or Kabul. God willing, I would succeed in my errand.

None of my colleagues was prepared to accompany me.

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

Some of them had got themselves married at Sirhind while the others were married earlier at Lahore. Nor would they allow me to leave.

At last I paid one hundred Rupees to Gulam Shah and persuaded him to accompany me. I then returned to the camp of Adina Beg Khan for some time.

Dilaram said to me "Why did you leave the camp without informing any one. Adina Beg Khan has given me Rupees two hundred to be handed over to you. When the affairs are settled finally he will give you two thousand Rupees as decided previously."

I took two hundred Rupees from him. It was a boon. Within two or three days I reached Adina Nagar. I left Adina Nagar the next day early in the morning. I traversed eight Kos and came to the banks of the Ravi. I had crossed the river in a boat when I met a person who knew me. He said "It is a few days since the Begam left Ahmad Shah and went to Sialkot. She has now gone to Lahore.

At this news, I could not hold myself for joy. I changed my direction and within four days I arrived at Lahore.

I hid the Kalgi (Turra) which I was wearing as no one had to wear it without the permission of the king.

Afghan Rule In Punjab (1757–58)

Taimur Shah had become the Ruler with Jahan Khan as his Wazir. They made a deal with Adina Beg Khan within ten or fifteen days. His agent Dilaram came to Lahore. For a payment of some lakhs of Rupees, the Doab was farmed out to Adina Beg Khan. He was however exempted from attending the Court.

Administration of Law, order and justice now began to function in Lahore, as before. Peace was also established in the Parganahs, Prince Taimur Shah had an army of ten to fifteen thousand Afghans with a train of artillery. Jahan Khan maintained Indian troops to some extent. These troops, infantry and cavalry were paid monthly salaries according to rates prevalent in India.

At the time of his departure towards Qandahar, Ahmad Shah had repeatedly said to the Begam "You stay at Lahore. In lieu

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

of Jagirs you take an allowance of thirty thousand Rupees".

The Begam did not agree. She said "You had bestowed on me the Doab, Jammu and Kashmir earlier. And now you want me to take an allowance from Taimur Shah".

Ahmad Shah said "Your brother Taimur Shah has now become the ruler of the Province. What will you do with the Subas ?"

He then sent Shah Wali Khan and Jahan Khan to explain matters to her. Still she did not agree. She went with Ahmad Shah upto Jhelum.

Then she thought to herself "I have no money with me to proceed further. It would be folly to do so". Finding no other alternative, she returned to Lahore. She then decided to call her daughter from Jammu. The latter had jewellery with her. She proposed to sell the jewels, as they would last her for three or four years.

Jahan Khan had been opposed to the Begam accompanying Ahmad Shah. She did not listen to him. He had therefore been displeased with her. The Begam returned and took up her residence in the Sarai Hakim, adjacent to the chowk. The Sarai was in ruins. There were only two rooms standing and fit to occupy. The Begam pitched some tents. She raised some wooden structures.

The Wazir Jahan Khan did not send anyone to inquire about her. She too did not send any word to him.

The Begam said "Why did you not come inside ?"

I replied "This is a venerable place. It is not proper that with my beard and moustache (youth) I should enter these precincts."

The Begam said "While I was returning to these parts, I got some of your colleagues married at Sirhind. I appeared before them."

I said "It was not necessary for you to appear before them because this familiarity causes loss of proper decorum."

The Begam was much pleased at my remarks. She said "This boy possesses great understanding. He has never said a single word about me which was not based on good wishes."

She was very kind to me. She said "I consider you as one dear to me. For my sake you had decided to go to Kabul and

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

Qandahar. Why should I not then, consider you as dear to me ? These Khwajah Saras have been the cause of much expenditure. Yet not one among them has uttered such words of good wishes.

"The Khwajah Sara Muhabbat, in spite of the confidence I had in him ran away from Panipat to Delhi with two hundred horses. I have sent Qasim Khan and Muqim Beg with the officers of Ahmad Shah in pursuit of him, so that they could bring him back from Delhi. The Khwajah Saras, Khush Faham and Zamarrud are with me. They do what they like; nor do they allow others to do any work. What is the use of such people?"

I said "God willing, I will carry out whatever work you entrust to me sincerely". Some days passed. As I was sincere in carrying out duties small and big, she would have me with her for meals twice a day. The Khwajah Saras were full of jealousy. But I never cared for them.

One day, I said to the Begam " I do not think it advisable that you should stay in this Sarai. This is situated on a public thoroughfare. You had once ruled this province. To reduce yourself to this condition would be very improper in the eyes of the public."

The Begam said, " I have called my daughter from Jammu. As soon as my men return from that place, I will have money, for my travelling expenses. I will then go to Qandahar.

I said, " The Vazir Jahan Khan has full authority here. He is displeased with you. How can you cross the Ravi without his permission ? He will never allow you to leave."

The Begam agreed. She said to her female attendants " What he (myself) says is true."

She then said to me " What then should be done? " " Whatever is to happen," I said, "let it happen here only. It would be advisable to resume contacts with Jahan Khan in whatever way possible. Ahmad Shah has fixed thirty thousand Rupees as allowance for you. Take it and be satisfied with it. Otherwise you will have to face financial difficulties in a few days. "

The Begam said, " I have fallen out with the Vazir in the past. To make a request to him now would be belittling my dignity. My self-respect does not allow me to send a message to him. Besides, he has not sent a single man to inquire about me ".

I said, there is a way out of this. Send trays of food for the

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

Prince Taimur Shah. Jahan Khan is bound to be at the palace. He will probably make inquiries and say "Where is my share ?" Give instructions to the person carrying trays to reply as follows "This feast is for the prince who is the ruler of this province. It is proposed to invite you tomorrow to the Begam Saheb's residence for a feast".

The Begam liked my advice very much. She began to esteem me high from that moment. She began to consult me in all matters small or big. She used to hold converse with me.

That day, according to my advice she got excellent food prepared. I was instructed to carry the food. When I arrived with the food in the fort, the Vazir Jahan was inside the fort. There were fifteen persons in all. He turned towards me and said with a smile " Where is my share ? "

I replied " It is proposed to invite you to the Begam's residence tomorrow. Kindly come to the residence and partake of the meals. The Begam's residence will be illuminated by your presence there. "

The Vazir said " These do not seem to be the words of the Begam. She is very proud and is against me. She does not care for me. "

I said " The Begam has given up her high status in India and has sought refuge with Ahmad Shah. She considers you as her brother. If she cannot quarrel with you playfully, with whom can she do so ? "

The Vazir was highly pleased with my reply.

He laughed and said " It would appear that you have been giving training to the Begam ".

In short, that night passed. Next day the Begam spent four hundred Rupees on getting good food prepared. In the afternoon she ordered me to bring the Vazir to her residence.

Accordingly I went to the fort and saw the Vazir. He said " I am very busy. Get the food sent to me here. I will come to the Begam's residence tomorrow. "

I said " Sir, if you do not come the Begam will have no prestige left. "

At last, Yusuf Khan, who was the Superintendent of the audience hall of Taimur Shah said to me " Oh boy, if you consider me as your father, I will force him to agree." Yusuf Khan then

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

took Jahan Khan's hand and said, " The Begam is the son (Ahmad Shah had called her, his son) of Ahmad Shah. This boy (myself) is my son. Under these circumstances you must go to the Begam's residence ".

Accordingly Jahan Khan mounted his horse and went to the Begam's residence. He had his meals and then witnessed a song and dance function arranged by the courtesans. He then had talks with the Begam about her grievances. He then returned to his quarters in the evening.

How I Became Tahmas Khan

From that day my influence began to increase in the court of Taimur Shah. Whatever requests I made were readily granted.

The tomb of Nawab Muinulmulk was situated near the Hakim Sarai. I used to go once and sometimes, twice daily, to pray at his tomb.

One night I had a dream. In my dream I saw Muinulmulk standing. He had a staff in one hand. In the other, he had a robe of red silk. He was saying " Bring Taimur to me. " I presented myself. He gave me the robe. I said " Where can I get such a costly robe again?" He said " Do not tell this to anybody. I will be giving such robes to you again ". I paid my respects and donned the robe joyfully.

I woke up from my dream. In the morning I went to pay my respects to the Begam. She bestowed on me a silken robe of the colour that I had received in my dream. The Begam was so kind to me that I would stay with her till evening, giving her advice on various matters. All affairs began to be correctly handled by me. The Begam used to tell me of the evil doings of the Khwajah Saras. She even wanted me to quarrel with them. But very wisely, I avoided falling out with them. As the Begam was kind to me, she used to give me gifts, sometimes a silken robe, at other time, a waistband. This used to happen quite often.

I used to go to the fort twice a day to pay my respects to the Wazir (Jahan Khan). The Wazir's kindness to me grew. The other officers in the Court used to praise my understanding, intelligence and tact.

One day the Wazir said " I will get you the title of Khan

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

from Taimur Shah. But you must change your name (Hitherto my name was Taimur, the one given by Muinulmulk)."

I said what was proper. He then said "From today your name will be Tahmas Khan. Tomorrow I will get an aigrette and tiara for you, from Taimur Shah. It was the custom to bestow such ornaments, but of low value. When the Begam heard this she sent aigrette, tiara and Kalgi of great value to the wazir. Next day in the Court of Taimur Shah I was given these ornaments of honour. I put them on and paid my respects to Taimur Shah. I was also given the title of 'Khan'. The Wazir said, "Now that you have become a Khan you should attend the Court every day like other officers and pay your respects."

Accordingly I began attending the Court every day. After a few days I got the thirty thousand Rupees allowance sanctioned for the Begam. I even drew five thousand Rupees out of the above from the Royal Treasury.

At this time the Begam's daughter arrived from the hills safely. Qasim Khan and Muqim Beg had been sent to Delhi to seize Muhabbat, the Khwajah Sara. They could not find him. They however confiscated considerable property belonging to him and brought it to Lahore. Muqim Beg said to the Begam, "Qasim Khan has kept half the confiscated goods at his house in Sirhind."

On hearing this the Begam arrested Qasim Khan and put him in detention.

Qasim Khan under arrest :

Qasim Khan was placed in a small room adjoining the Begam's residence. Next day he sent word to me as follows "Owing to adversity of fate I find myself in a prison. The room is damp. It is very cold here. I will die. For God's sake send me a blanket and a mat. It will relieve me to some extent."

As soon as I heard of this, I sent food, carpet, blanket and pillows to him. I then went to the Begam and said to her with all intensity "Whatever Muqim Beg has said about Qasim Khan is all false. He may kindly be released. He is innocent." I kept on making this request for two or three days. One day I even abstained from my meals.

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

As the Begam was kind to me she called Qasim Khan. From behind the curtain, she said to him "Take an Oath that you have not left any property (mine) at Sirhind". Qasim Khan immediately said on oath that he was not guilty of stealing any property.

The Begam then released him but asked him to reside nearby. He took up his quarters in the school of Muinulmulk nearby. After a few days, thieves stole away his horse. A servant of his, Shadman Beg also disappeared. Only two attendants and a clerk remained with him.

A few days latter, Qasim Khan fell ill. I used to call on him once in two or four days and make inquiries. But Qasim Khan's illness continued for a month. One day he wept before me and said " For God's sake, get my faults pardoned by the Begam. Request her to send a bottle of rosewater and a bottle of Bed Mushk, so that I could recover. "

I then went to the Begam and requested her to condone his faults and send the required medicine to him, as otherwise, he would die. As the Begam was kind to me she did so. I sent the medicine to Qasim Khan.

From that day Qasim Khan began to recover bit by bit. In three months he had recovered his health completely. He was very grateful to me. He had meals with me twice. He borrowed four hundred Rupees from me. He wanted to execute a promissary note. But I refused, saying "I am thankful that I have been of service to you. As between friends there is no necessity to reduce this affair to writing. "

The Begam moves from the Sarai to her palace.

After a few days I requested the Begam as follows " Your high status and eminence are on everybody's lips. It is against all reason to stay in such a miserable place. It would be proper to stay in a good house in the city. So that, people will not look down upon you. "

In short, after many entreaties I persuaded the Begam to shift to the palace of Nawab Abdussamad Khan, her maternal grandfather (previous Governor of Punjab). The palace was suitable. And there the Begam resided in full splendour.

I used to attend the court of Taimur Shah twice a day without fail. I used to be in attendance on Jahan Khan till nightfall.

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

I often used to get the grievances of the people redressed. The Begam was also much pleased with my work. She once bestowed on me the valuable trappings of a horse. Ten persons were deputed to attend on me during my movements.

After my attendance at the Court and on Jahan Khan I used to see the Begam. I used to be with her till late in the night. I used to tell her of the happenings at the Court and other matters.

Due to the increase in my status, my colleagues too received promotions. Formerly they used to receive eight annas per day. Now their pay was increased to forty Rupees per month. Some of them were excused attendance at the Begam's palace during night time.

The Begam in her talk often used expressions which were highly unreasonable and improper. Out of a sense of extreme devotion, I did not heed her words. I used to speak words of advice to her. In this way I used to avoid (doing anything improper). I used to say to her " Do not say such improper things. It is against your dignity and status." The Begam offered me valuable jewels. But I never agreed to her wishes. Matters continued in this manner for sometime. But God was kind to me. I considered myself as her son. Never did I say a single improper word. I considered her as my mother.

The Begam was kind to my wife. She gave her the title of Khanam and gave a nosering of pearls of great value. She said to me " Your Jewels were stolen. You may ask for any jewels you want. They will be given to you. "

I said " At the time of my marriage, you had given me two to four thousand Rupees. People exaggerated the amount and made it one Lakh Rupees. And now if you give me jewels they may say that a crore Rupees were given. These are state jewels. They are like black snakes. Whosoever takes them is sure to come to harm.

The Begam was pleased with my remarks. She said " You have no temptation for jewels. You are indifferent to wealth. How is this ? "

In reply I recited a couplet, the meaning of which was " Be pure and you need fear none. Greed is harmful. To be free from greed raises one's status high. "

In short I saved myself only through faith in incorruptibility.

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

The Begam gave for my residence a house in Khwaspura. The residence was adjacent to her palace and was easy of communication. The Begam used to visit the house off and on. Many times she used to have her meals with us. She used to say " Your wife has all the excellent qualities which you have. Since she came to your house everything has become pleasing and attractive.

I said " It is all due to God's grace and your kindness. I am also pleased with my wife. "

The Begam then asked " Whom have you selected as the groom for your daughter ? "

I said " My adopted sister's son Aiwaz Badal. "

I had two adopted sisters. The father of Aiwaz Badal Beg was Daraz Beg. The husband of the other sister was Hatim Beg.

The Begam immediately called them and appointed them on a salary of Rupees thirty in her establishment. They however did not receive their salary for a long time. I had to make payments to them for nearly eight months.

I seek a religious guide

It occurred to me that I was now twenty years old. I must have some religious guide. There was a saint, Muhammad Ghous by name, who was descended from the renowned saint Ghous. I decided to become his disciple. But the Begam said " You are still young. When you grow older you can think of this. "

After a fortnight I heard that Muhammad Ghous was dead. I was greatly grieved. That night in my dream I saw him. He took my hand and put it in the hand of his nephew. He then said to his nephew, " Take him to my son Syed Abid and make him his disciple. "

Next morning I took sweets with me and went to the mosque. I met the nephew of the late saint. I requested him to make me his disciple. He said " Wait for sometime. " After sometime Syed Abid, the son of the late Saint came in. All rose to receive him. The saint's nephew took me by the hand and as it had happened in my dream., put it in the hand of Syed Abid. He initiated me as his disciple according to procedure. He gave

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

me certain instructions. He asked me to repeat the name of God a hundred times after each prayer.

Jahan Khan's operations against the Sikhs (*November* 1757)

One day, intelligence was received that a large body of Sikhs had assembled at Chak Guru for a religious bath and were causing tumult and violence. The Viceroy's troops under Haji Ataikhan were out in the nieghbourhood for subduing the country, settling matters and chastising the Sikhs. The wazir wrote a letter to Sardar Haji Atai Khan informing him about the disturbances. He asked him to reach the Chak by a sudden march with all his troops on a certain day promising that he also would arrive there at the appointed time in order to send the Sikhs to destruction. He also issued a proclamation in the city of Lahore, after the manner of Afghanistan that everybody whether a servant of the state or otherwise, possessing a horse should get ready for the campaign and accompany the wazir. The wazir asked the Begam to send as many horsemen as possible under Takhamaskhan (myself). The Begam immediately collected about twenty five horsemen and placed them under me (Tahamas Khan Miskin). Qasim Khan too joined us. We then joined the Wazir's camp. The Wazir's army which was about two thousand strong marched from Lahore. It was evening by the time it reached Sarai Khan Khanan, six Kos distant from Lahore.

Next day the army marched and reached a place two Kos on this side of the Chak. (village Golerwal, five miles from Amritsar) They were surprised to find that Haji Atai Khan had not reached that place in spite of strict instructions.

The Sikhs got this intelligence and attacked us on all the four sides. The battle began. The contestants started firing and using other weapons against each other. The Sikhs closely besieged the army. Fighting raged strongly. The Sikhs pressed the army so hotly that many people became distressed and started fleeing. The Wazir was a bold man. He valiantly forestalled the attack of the enemy. At that time, I with ten horsemen was with the Wazir. The Sikhs had not allowed the fleeing army to escape. So, the fleeing persons had to return to the main army. Jahan Khan took out his sword and wounded a few of his

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

men, saying "Why did you flee ?"

Anyway we all collected together and continued the fight. Things became very difficult for us. Everyone was at the end of his resources. At this stage I exerted myself to the utmost and showed great courage. If I write about it no one would believe me. At this stage Haji Atai Khan arrived with a strong army. The Sikhs who were proud of their bravery were killed by the ruthless swords and guns of the soldiers. They were defeated. Unable to make a stand, they fled away. The army pursued them upto Chak Guru (Amritsar). Their holy place was a screened shrine. We saw five Sikh infatrymen at the gate. They were killed by our army. It was at this place that Mir Niamatullah, a distinguished citizen of Lahore, lost his life. The army encamped there.

The Wazir, Jahan Khan was all praise for me. The Wazir then marched forward. I accompanied him for three days. I then took leave of him and returned to Lahore. The Wazir gave me a letter addressed to Taimur Shah in which he praised me much. In a letter to the Begam, in which he praised me, the Wazir wrote "Tahams Khan has today proved true to his mother's milk. When I reach Lahore I will describe his exploits further."

After a few days the Wazir returned to Lahore. He got me robes of honour, much valued in Afghanistan, from Taimur Shah. I paid my respects. My status and influence were now more than before.

Adina Beg Khan invites the Marathas (*February* 1758)

If the fates are favourable everything leads to success. But if they are adverse everything goes to ruin. It so happened in those days that two Afghan troopers were coming from Sirhind. They were killed by chance in the territory of the fort of Boda Ramdas (Kartarpur). On learning this news, Jahan Khan at once despatched a few Sazawals (Executive officers) as is done in Afghanistan, to the Chaudhari of that place. The Chaudhari (Sodhi Barbhag Sing) was one of the renowned chiefs of the area. He was a trusted head of the Sikhs. He used to command resources of lakhs of Rupees. The Sazawals, following the

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

procedure in Afghanistan, harassed him so much that, in sheer desperation, he fled from the place and hid himself. The Sazawals returned in disappointment. From that moment, peace and order which had been established in the province disappeared. The Sikhs rose in rebellion from all sides.

Another incident which happened was about Adina Beg Khan. The Districts of Doab had been farmed out to him for an annual sum of thirty six lacs of Rupees. He had been exempted attendance at the Court. He was to deposit the amounts according to fixed instalments. His agent Dilaram was stationed in Lahore to look after the transactions.

The fates had ordered that the Vazir's affairs were to end in confusion. He despatched a few Sazawals to Adina Beg Khan demanding the latter's attendance at the Court. Adina Beg Khan was afraid of going to Taimur Shah's court. He refused. He left the Doab and took refuge in inaccessible hills. He flatly refused to go to Lahore. Great disturbances now broke out through the Punjab. The Vazir appointed Sarafaraz Khan Afghan as the Governor of Doab and sent him to establish order in that area. Gufrankhan was appointed to the province of Kashmir. Khwajah Mirza Khan, the captain of the Mughals, a reference to whom has been made in the above pages, was also given an assignment.

The fates had ordained that this affair was to end in failure. The two armies which had been sent to the Doab and Kashmir returned, badly defeated. They were not able to achieve anything. All order which had prevailed uptill now disappeared.

Khwajah Mirza Khan traversed the hills and joined Adina Beg Khan. After this, the Afghan armies, wherever sent, were badly beaten.

Disturbances now reached the environs of the city of Lahore. Every night thousands of Sikhs used to descend on the city and devastate the outlying suburbs. None stirred out of the city to fight against them. On the other hand, orders were issued that the city gates should be closed at nightfall.

In short the situation became extremely difficult and the entire administration broke down.

Adiana Beg Khan had been the fauzdar of Doab since the time of Abdussamad Khan, Governor of Punjab. He had kept

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

the Governor pleased by his behaviour and prompt despatch of the annual dues from his District. His administration of Doab was so excellent that during his reign not a single complaint was heard. Nor was there any highway robbery within his jurisdiction. Of his other excellent qualities of head and heart, how much can I write? In meting out justice he had no equal. He had a force of ten thousand cavalry and infantry at his disposal.

Taimur Shah's officer had been appointed as officer of the Doab. He had come with his army to the district. He had however been defeated and had been expelled.

Adina Beg however, thought to himself. "These Afghans are heartless tyrants. They do not care for the sentiments and feelings of the Indians. How long can I fight with them? Some means must be devised to remove this thorn (Afghans) from our midst." With this idea, and finding no other alternative, he turned to Ragho and Malhar (Raghunathrao and Malharrao Holkar), Maratha Chiefs from the Deccan. They had an army of two lac infantry and cavalry with them. At this time they were camping at Delhi (January 1758). Adina Beg entered into agreement with them. It was decided that the Maratha army should receive one lac Rupees for everyday of marching and fifty thousand Rupees for everyday of camping. With these conditions, Adina Beg called the Marathas to his assistance. Adina Beg Khan went to Sirhind and met the Maratha Chiefs.

Samadkhan Muhammadzai had been appointed as fauzdar of Sirhind by Ahmad Shah. Fighting broke out between Adina Beg Khan and Samadkhan. At last, with the assistance of the Maratha Chiefs, Adian Beg Khan bore down heavily on Samadkhan and placed him in a critical situation. In the end they captured him (21st March 1758). They plundered the city of Sirhind and took possession of it.

In Lahore

Mughalani Begam was a woman of wisdom and understanding. Yet, as the saying goes, women are deficient in intelligence and do not possess the virtue of stability. The Vazir Jahan Khan had taken away the administration of Doab from the hands of Adina Beg Khan. This had given rise to great disturbances. Adina

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

Beg Khan's agent Dilaram was in Lahore. For default of payment of dues, from the Doab, Jahan Khan arrested Adina Beg's agent Dilaram and put him in detention.

The Begam, out of sheer folly, pressed the Vazir. He said to her "You are like a sister to me. You should not press for his release."

I too, out of goodwill, said to the Begam "It is not proper for you to interfere in this matter."

The Begam did not pay any heed to my words. She stood security for six lacs of Rupees due from Dilaram. She said that she would get the amount from Adina Beg Khan. She secured the release of Dilaram. She then wrote to Adina Beg Khan to send the amount. He however did not give any reply. Finding no other alternative she sent her jewels to Adina Beg Khan saying "Pawn these jewels and send the amount so that I can be free (from pressure). At this juncture Dilaram said "My situation is desperate. I will do whatever you order me to do."

The Begam took pity on him. She said "You run away. Go to Adina Beg Khan. Explain everything to him. Get the money and send it. Do not delay a single moment in sending the amount. Once I deposit the amount, I will have no care whatsoever."

Dilaram fled from Lahore the same night. The Begam summoned me and said "Dilaram has run away this night. What should be done now?"

I replied "The only proper course would be to go to the Vaziri's house immediately. These Afghans are heartless. They may even drag you from this place. They may insult you. You, who have once ruled in Lahore, will be disgraced in the eyes of the public."

Anyway, Mughalani Begam agreed to my suggestion. She went to the female apartments of the Vazir.

At this very moment, Jahan Khan had sent Sazawals to the Begam. He said to them "I am going to my house. You drag the Begam from her house and bring her to me".

As the Begam had already arrived in the female apartments of the Vazir, the Sazawals returned empty handed. The Vazir on entering his female apartments saw the Begam. He gave a sound beating to her with his stick. The Begam cried out "Do

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

not punish me. In lieu of six lac Rupees I will give you my jewels."

At the time of the evening prayers, two hundred troopers, and two Khwajah Saras carried the Begam to her house. All the attendants of the Begam fled out of fear. I, Miskin, who alone remained, took the Begam into the house. The Begam narrated to me all that had happened to her and said "You too had better run away or else they will kill you."

I, however, did not leave her. I said "You have been reduced to this condition. It would be very improper to leave you in this condition."

The three or four Khwajah Saras who had arrived, put her into a room. The two hundred troopers were placed as guards. The oppressions prepetrated by them for two or three days defy description. At last they took away gold, jewellery, and all other things. I had been given aigrette, tiara, Kalgi (Tura), silver and gold trappings for my horse, silk and kinkhabe robes. All these, I handed over to them. It was only then that they left us and went away.

Measures to check the Marathas

When the news of the fighting between the Marathas and Samadkhan at Sirhind reached the Vazir, he started making preparations to send assistance to Samadkhan. Army tents were sent out of the city. The army prepared to get ready. The Vazir felt that as he had maltreated the Begam, she might create trouble. He therefore detained her in Taimur Shah's place. He demanded that I should join his army with my horsemen.

In the disturbances of the Begam, my colleagues, who had to maintain themselves, sold their horses. Some of the horses were concealed by the Khwajah Saras. I therefore took two horsemen with me and went into the Vazir's camp. I pleaded lack of horses and my inability to go with the army. The Vazir said "If you do not bring twenty-five horsemen with you I will, with a stick, beat you to death.". Finding myself helpless, I took leave of him and returned to the city. I sent one of my horsemen ahead of me to announce among the servants of the Begam that

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

the Vazir had promised a sum of sixty Rupees per horse. I too followed him. As soon as the men and Khwajah Saras heard of what I had to say, they crowded round us, saying " You can take away our horses with you". I had felt that, were I to take away horses from them by force, it would be disgraceful and against my good name. Therefore I played this trick and secured twenty-five horses from the Khwajah Saras. I gave some horses to my colleagues and some to others who agreed to join me. I took a loan of two hundred and fifty Rupees. I bought rice, pulses and other grain and loading the provision on bullock carts I started for the camp.

The day I reached the camp I was ordered to move with the musketeers of the artillery, deputed for scouting (Karawal). I had no option but to go. I had to feed my twenty-five horsemen and their horses. Within eight days we reached Batala . The Vazir too arrived there.

Next day two thousand horsemen were deputed for scouting. The head of this party was Yusuf Khan who was the superintendent of the audience hall of Taimur Shah. He considered me as my son. I have referred to him in the above pages. I was deputed to go with him.

I pleaded "My men are trained in Indian methods. They would not be able to do the scouting work. They would be afraid of the pressure from the NasakChis (Supervising Officers) and might run away. They also do not have the means of subsistence." The Vazir said to me, "Why do you require money? There are ample crops of wheat and other grain in this area. God willing, you will be given leave to go after ten or fifteen days."

I had no reply to give. We remained in the Doab with the scouts for forty days. We used to ride ten Kos at a stretch, sometimes to the right, sometimes to the left and sometimes straight ahead discharging our guns. I adjusted myself to the troubles and travails of marching.

At this time news was received that the Marathas had captured Sirhind and its governor Samadkhan. At this news, the scouts lost heart. They retreated to the fords of the river Beas. Vazir Jahan Khan too, at this news, retreated and arrived at the ford of the river. There also he could not think of making

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

a stand. He turned towards Jalalabad. He stayed there for eight days. By way of precaution, the scouting troops would march against the enemy troops for ten Kos, but would return after losing their men.

At last the Marathas left Sirhind behind them and marched to the Satlaj in the Doab. The Vazir then left Jalalabad and marching rapidly for four days, returned to Lahore. Next day, the mother of Taimur Shah, the family members of the Vazir and other Chiefs were, along with their goods, conveyed from the city to the Afghan camp (April 1758). The goods were more than could be carried by the available means of transport. They had to be conveyed in two or three trips.

The same day, my colleagues fled and hid themselves in the city. I alone remained in the Afghan camp. I heard of the following incident. A few soldiers of the Afghan army had hid themselves in the city. The Vazir made a search and caught them. They were taken to the chauk and executed. I thought to myself, "If I am asked about the whereabouts of my colleagues what reply could I give." With this anxiety I rode into the city to see my Pir (Guru, preceptor) . I paid my respects to him. I told him how my colleagues had gone into hiding and how I was afraid about the Vazir asking me about their whereabouts. He did not say anything. I waited for two hours. I then got up and asked him" What do you say about me? Should I go into hiding or stay where I am?". He said "Go to your house". Finding myself helpless, I turned towards my house. I had hardly gone a few steps when a man came running to me. He said "The Begam has been released from the fort. She has returned to her palace."

I was very glad to hear this news. Hastening to the Begam's palace, I paid my respects to her. I saw that her eyes were filled with tears. My colleagues were standing near her. The Begam said " The Vazir has released me on the condition that I should gather as many troopers as I could and send them to his camp quickly. "

My colleagues pleaded " For one month we have taken part in the scouting operations. We are completely exhausted. Tahamas Khan has four horses. His men do all the work. We only toil for them." On hearing these words I said " I will give

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

them one horse of mine and three other horses. But they must accompany me to the camp." They agreed.

At this stage four Sazawals (Executive officers) came from the Vazir. He had demanded the presence of the Begam and her daughter. At this message the attendants of the Begam were frightened, they all fled away. The Begam was stunned at this development. She said to me "Take my daughter away (to the Vazir's camp). I said "It would not be proper to send her alone. It would disgrace you in the eyes of the public."

The Begam said "My daughter is not dearer to me than my life."

I then said "I can guess why the Vazir has sent for you. You had been the governor of Lahore. The Afghan army is about to flee Lahore. The Vazir must have thought "The Begam might close the gates of the City. She may not allow the transport of material from the city to the camp." He wants to keep you under surveillence until his army leaves. Please do not have any anxiety. Place reliance on God and go to the camp."

The Begam fell at my feet and cried out "Oh brother, I have been deceived previously. I have suffered. The only way out is that you take my daughter away and accompany the Sazawals."

How shall I describe the long argument that ensued ? After many entreaties, I succeeded in taking the Begam and her daughter in a Rath (carriage) to the camp. Besides the driver of the carriage and myself I had taken with me two other persons, Shaikh Azim and Ali Quli. I promised to pay them two hundred Rupees. I took the carriage to the female apartments of the Vazir in the Afghan camp.

By this time it was evening. I spent the whole night in fear and hope. Early in the morning I sought for news of the Begam.

The Begam sent word to say "The Vazir is very much distracted. He has not spoken a word to me since my arrival."

When it was daylight, I saw the Vazir from behind the carriage. He was in the Diwan Khana (audience hall). He was indulging in discharging arrows. He would sometimes call his Chiefs and bestow robes on them. The soldiers of the army were continuously conveying goods from the city.

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

Marathas in Lahore (20th April 1758)

In the meanwhile, news had been received that Adina Beg Khan, accompanied by the Maratha army had left the Doab behind him and was approaching near.

In the afternoon (19th April 1758) Taimur Shah crossed the river (Rawi). The Vazir followed him. A general movement of the army began. The Khwajah Saras of the Vazir put the female inmates of the Zenana on horses and camels and took them away.

I put the Begam and her daughter in the carriage and brought them to the palace in the city. I rendered thanks to God Almighty. The Begam was extremely grateful to me. She said " I have made Tahamas Khan a free man. I feel like a maid servant before him. I was in great trouble. He has brought me out of the trouble with all safety and honour. "

Meanwhile, my colleagues gathered in the palace. The Begam refused to allow them inside saying " They are all faithless to the salt. "

After many entreaties I got her to pardon my colleagues. They were then admitted to her presence.

After this, I immediately rode out into the City. I got the gates of the city closed. Throughout the night I was out patrolling the enitre City.

Next day, (20th April 1758) when it was about nine in the morning, five hundred Maratha horsemen, and one hundred horsemen, the latter from Khwajah Mirza Khan's army under the leadership of Ashur Ali Khan, appeared at the Delhi gate of the City. I knew Ashur Ali Khan. They showed me the required orders.

I immediately opened the gates and handed over the city to them. I then returned to my residence.

Taimur Shah had in all reigned in Lahore for one year and two months.

The stars were favourable to me. I have referred to Qasim Khan along with Khwajah Mirza Khan in the previous pages. This time Qasim Khan used to have his meals twice a day with me. He had come with Khwajah Mirza Khan.

One day when we were having meals together, I said to Qasim

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

Khan " In earlier days when the stars were favourable to me, I had done all that I could for you. Now that Khwajah Mirza Khan has come, your affairs will prosper by the grace of God. Do not turn away from your friends and forget them. Qasim Khan, who was having his meals, stayed his hand. He swore by God and Prophet and said " So long as there is life left in this body I will never turn away from you. I will consider you dearer to me than my brothers. "

We thus renewed our old friendship.

Marathas pursue the Afghans (21*st April* 1758)

Next day Khwajah Mirza Khan with one thousand Mughals and ten thousand Maratha horsemen reached the banks of the river Ravi adjacent to the city. The same morning Taimur Shah had moved away from that place. By way of precaution he hed left Mir Hazar Khan with a few thousand troops behind him. Khwajah Mirza Khan crossed the river and fell upon Mir Hazar-khan. The Mir tried his best to put up a running fight. At last the Marathas surrounded him from all sides and captured him.

When this news reached Taimur Shah and Jahan Khan, they were extremely frightened.. They hurriedly crossed the river Chenab near Vazirabad and got away safely with their Durani Clansmen. The rest of the Afghan army consisting of the Uzbeks, Qizalbash and Afghans with all the camp equipment remained on this side of the river.

Khwajah Mirza Khan with ten thousand of his troops and twenty thousand Marathas crossed the river Ravi and purused the Afghans. Within a few days the armies had completely plundered the Afghan camp. They brought the spoils to Lahore. The Marathas took away their share. The rest fell into Khwajah Mirza Khan's hands. The spoil was so much that Khwajah Mirza Khan and his troops became affluent. Every day horses captured were being brought to Lahore. The Uzbeks and their cheifs who were in the Afghan army were taken into service by Khwajah Mirza Khan. Khwajah Sayeed Khan, the brother of Khwajah Mirza Khan handed over horses captured from the Durranis to Qasim Khan.

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

Adina Beg Khan, Ragho (Raghunathrao) and Malharrao, stayed for a few days near Lahore. Then Raghunathrao, Malharrao, Tukoji Holkar and Dattaji, took Mir Hazar Khan with them and marched towards the Deccan.

Khwajah Mirza Khan had been appointed to the Government of Lahore. He said to Adina Beg Khan "If you appoint me to this place you should take away the Begam Mughalani along with you. Otherwise I will not be able to administer this area in the real sense of the term. Adina Beg Khan gave a few thousand Rupees to the Begam. He provided one hundred and fifty carriages (Rath) and a few bullock carts for transporting her establishment. He then took her away with him. The Maratha chiefs also left Lahore along with Adina Beg Khan. The Begam too left Lahore.

At that time the Begam bestowed upon me a palanquin. We marched from Lahore and after a few stages we reached Batala. It was at Batala that arrangements for the stay of the Begam had been made (April 1758).

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

3

THE PUNJAB AFFAIRS —1758-1763

Mughalani Begam at Batala (*April* 1758-*Sept.* 1758.)

When the Mughal army reached Batala, Adina Beg Khan sanctioned a monthly allowance of Rupees two thousand for the Begam. He also sanctioned a daily allowance of Rupees fifty for her kitchen expenditure. He also fixed a building fit for noblemen, for her residence. The Begam had, while at Lahore, sent her jewels to Adina Beg Khan to be pawned for payment of Adina Beg Khan's dues. These jewels were now returned by him to the Begam.

The Begam sent her daughter and other attendants of her female establishment to the residence selected for her. She however remained in Adina Beg's camp. In lieu of jewels (aigrette, tiara and Kalgi) which she had to take from me when payments of Dilaram's (agent of Adina Beg Khan) had to be made, the Begam gave me four hundred Rupees to get those ornaments prepared afresh. Accordingly I got the jewels prepared. I wore them on the day of the Id (8 June 1758). He (Adina Beg) gave to each of us a horse. He had heard of our devotion to the Begam. He therefore paid us good salaries from his treasures punctually. The Begam's prosperity began to grow. She began to pass her days happily.

Begam's designs on Tahmas Khan

One day, unfortunately, an unbecoming event, the mention of which is beyond propriety and wisdom, took place. The Begam got very angry with me. She imprisoned me. She even wanted to kill me. But as I was destined to live a little longer and enjoy

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

the affairs of the world, God protected me. The truth of her senseless treatment of me, came to be widely known in the camp. Even Adina Beg Khan sent word to her to say "This improper conduct of yourself and senseless rage is against all sense of propriety and is not in keeping with your dignity. It is not proper that you should lose your devoted servants and well-wishers in this way." After fifteen days, the Begam's anger subsided. She grew kind to me and wanted to entrust to me the management of affairs as previously. I told her that it was impossible for me to carry on as before. My adopted son Faizulla Beg, was looking after her affairs during the period of her displeasure towards me. The Begam pressed me to resume my work. But I refused. Finding no other alternative she asked Faizulla Beg to look after her affairs.

Adina Beg Khan's Death :—

As fate would have it, it was at this time that Adina Beg Khan fell ill of a serious disease. After a few days, he died (15 September 1758).

At this happening, the Begam became very much distressed. She said "We must go to Jammu now. I do not see any place as safe as Jammu". She considered this course to be the only proper one and started for Jammu.

After a few days, she reached Jammu. The Rajah of Jammu, on hearing of her arrival, advanced three Kos to receive her. On seeing her, he got down from his horse and paid his respects to her. The Begam took away the aigrette, tiara and plume which I had with me and bestowed it upon him. She then entered Jammu with great pomp.

Mughalani Begam at Jammu

At Jammu there was a house in the vicinity of the residence of Uddhao, the minister. It was not suitable for a dwelling of noblemen. But as there was no alternative the Begam occupied the house. The minister ordered Mukrama, the Kotwal, to construct a house suitable for the Begam, soon. He got a house put up. It was not at all suitable. The Begam had, however, to bestow a robe of honour on the Kotwal.

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

The Rajah used to come to the Begam every four days. He used to pay respects to her according to procedure. After a few days he said to her. "I am your subject. If you could accept an allowance of Rupees one thousand per month from me I would consider it a great honour for me. The Begam did not agree to this. I and other said to her "We should not reject what is offered." The Begam was of a proud nature. She, who had given away lakhs of Rupees, would not stoop to receiving what was in reality a monthly salary. She said that it was insulting to her sense of selfrespect.

Many men from Lahore, officials, distinguished citizens, and merchants used to come to Jammu. They used to call on her. She used to bestow on them, generous as she was by nature, robes of honour and shawls according to their dignity. In a short time she must have distributed one hundred and fifty shawls. This continued for a year and half. The expenditure continued to be high. There was no income of a single pie from anywhere. Scarcity of money began to cause distress. The Begam pawned her jewels and realised Rupees thirty thousand from them. She carried on as best as she could. No money was left with her. Everyday the scarcity of money was felt. At last starvation stared in the face.

The Begam had given me four hundred Rupees in return for the aigrette and other jewels she had taken from me for bestowing them on the Rajah of Jammu. Besides, she had given to each of the servants a precious pearl. She had also given, when at Lahore, a nosering to my wife. I could not see her in distress. I collected all these jewels and presented them to the Begam. I said " All these are gifts from your Highness. These may be pawned so that expenditure could be met." The Begam refused to accept them. I however handed them to the superintendent of the Kitchen. I said to him " Pawn them for five hundred Rupees and meet the expenses to some extent. " The expenses were met, but only for a short time. The Begam maintained an establishment of two hundred persons, including attendants, troopers and horsemen.

The Governorship of Kashmir.

When the Begam first arrived in Jammu, rumour went

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

abroad that she had a design to take over Kashmir. Sukhjiwan had been appointed by Ahmad Shah as the Governor of Kashmir. He had, for some time, been harbouring rebellious designs against Ahmad Shah. He was utilising the entire revenue of the province for himself.

When he heard that the Begam had a design on Kashmir, he became anxious. He sent an agent to the Begam with the following message. "A man of authority and confidence will soon follow with presents and a sum for the expenses of your establishment."

The agent found out that there was absolutely no idea of the Begam having an eye on Kashmir. He wrote in confidence to Sukhjiwan asking him not to send the money and presents as promised by Sukhjiwan to the Begam.

After four days, however, an agent of some distinguished persons of Kashmir, Hasan Manda by name, arrived at Jammu. He met the Begam. He presented one Ashrafi to her. He brought a message from his chiefs which was as follows. "If you come to Kashmir we will expel Sukhjiwan from Kashmir and seat you in the office of Governorship. We have a force of twelve thousand infantry. We are ready to fight. But we cannot put in exertion for want of a leader. Since you have the orders previously passed by Ahmad Shah, conferring on you the Governorship of Kashmir, we can achieve our aims on the basis of those orders. We will put in every effort to do so!"

On this I said to the Begam "We should assist Hasan Manda. We should seize this opportunity."

The Begam replied "Sukhjiwan's message was received four days earlier. He has promised to send cash amounts. It would be unreasonable to give this up."

I said "Sukhjiwan is not to be trusted."

For four months the Begam waited for the amount from Sukhjiwan. Nothing was forthcoming. The falsehood of Sukhjiwan became apparent.

Hasan Manda was, in the meanwhile pressing the Begam to undertake the expedition. Six months passed away in this correspondence. At last Hasan Manda proposed as follows, "If you are not able to undertake this expedition yourself, you should send an agent of yours with the letter of appointment

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

which Ahmad Shah has given to you. The agent should be accompanied by a cavalry of five hundred. With God's grace and your fortune, we will get Kashmir for you. All arrangements have been made and people are perfectly agreeable to what we propose to do."

The Begam appointed Aqil Beg Khan, the brother of Gazi Beg Khan (who had been her Bakhsi-that is paymaster-at Lahore) as her agent. He refused, saying, "My brother Gazi Beg Khan is employed in Kashmir. It would not be proper for me to go to Kashmir." The Begam then appointed Abu Turab Khan. Hasan Manda said, "Abu Turab Khan is a Kashmiri. The people of Kashmir are not likely to obey him." My name was then proposed. Hasan Manda approved of my appointment. The Begam summoned me and offered the post to me. I accepted it.

My companions, ten to twelve in number were very much upset at my acceptance. They said "We are being sent to that hilly region only to be killed."

I told them "During the last six months we have not received even a single Rupee from the Begams' establishment. We had to sell whatever we had to maintain ourselves. We should now, rely on God, and leave this place. If we can get Kashmir, well and good. If not, the expenses will be borne by Hasan Manda who is an important dignitary and landholder of Kashmir."

My companions , then expressed their willingness for this scheme. I then said to the Begam "How are you going to send me on this expedition?" The Begam said " Do whatever you consider best."

I then said "Hasan Manda says that for the present we may take with us a cavalry of four hundred. We (including my companions) are twenty horsemen. If you assist me with two thousand Rupees, I will raise a further sum of three to four thousand rupees, on the amount advanced by you. I will then make all necessary arrangement. I will raise a body of three to four hundred horses and will, within fifteen or twenty days, go to Hasan Manda."

The Begam agreed to my suggestions. But no money was forthcoming. At last she took out costly rugs, carpets and other

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

material. She raised a loan of Rupees two thousand on this material. On an auspicious day our tents and standards were fixed outside the city. I entered the tents. The Vakil Hasan Manda offered his congratulations and presented two Ashrafis.

The Strange doings of the Begam :—

Next day, when the news of recruitment spread, horsemen, footsoldiers, clerks and others arrived in the camp! We began to write down the descriptive rolls of the recruits. The work consumed the whole day. In fact, it went on till midnight. My companions left for their quarters. Only Darah Beg remained with me.

All of a sudden, the Begam appeared in the tent dressed in male attire with a turban and a cloak. I recognised her immediately. I paid my respects and said "What is the reason for arriving here at such an hour and in such attire ? "

The Begam said "There is a Mulla who has discovered a buried treasure of thirty thousand Rupees. From the Rupees Two Thousand which I raised yesterday for payment of troops, I have paid him five hundred Rupees for Sindur, perfume and other articles. I have also given five hundred Rupees for a horse to be sacrificed on the spot. I have also advanced one thousand Rupees to the Mulla for distribution among the servants. The treasure will come into our possession tonight. The spade workers and torch bearers are ready outside." The Begam then turned to Faizullah Beg who had been appointed Khanesaman in my place and said "Go to the spot and see if the horse has been slughtered and treasure discovered." Faizullah Beg hurried to the spot.

I said to the Begam "Your Highness, how strange that you should waste two thousand Rupees in this way. Could there be anyone who would bury a treasure in this hilly region ? All these doings of the Mulla appear strange to me."

In the meanwhile Faizullah Beg returned. He said that there was nobody at the place indicated. The Begam did not believe him. She sent Darah Beg along with him. She said "Go and make enquiries. If there is nobody at the place, go to the Mulla's house and find out what has happened." Darah Beg

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

went and made enquiries. The neighbours said that the Mulla had taken the house on rent. He was there for ten days but had cleared out of the house with his family that very night. They did not know where he had gone.

On hearing this news the Begam was wild with rage and grief. She returned to her house, and soundly abused the attendants who had encouraged her in the scheme and had handled the affair. She even gave severe beating to them. But what was the use of all this. The arrow, once it has left the bow, will not come back.

The whole day was spent in grief at this. On the third day I sent word to the Begam that I would like to have the two thousand Rupees meant for raising troops. The Begam replied "You had said that you would raise a sum of four thousand Rupees in addition to the two thousand Rupees which I was to give. Those two thousand Rupees are not to be had. You better raise four thousand Rupees as promised and carry on the work."

I replied "The two thousand Rupees which you were to advance would have served to instil confidence among people. They would, then, have advanced money. In the absence of my advance from you, there is nothing that I can do."

At this, the Begam flew into rage and said. "I know nothing. You are perfectly free to do whatever you want to do. If you want, you can go away." On hearing these words, my companions collected their luggage and left for their houses. I stayed in the camp. I had four horses with me. Thieves stole one horse. My companions took away other horses. I had only one horse left with me. I had a few troopers with me. They, too, left, disappointed as they were, in a few days. I stayed in the camp with only two attendants. Darah Beg stayed with me. My other companions would come to me everyday. They would insist that I should leave the camp and go away to my home. I refused saying "Until the Begam recalls me, I am not going to leave this camp."

I spent forty days in the camp. My companions said "We are dying of hunger and starvation. You join us. We will recover every pie of our salary from the Begam and then leave in search of jobs."

I said "We are all household servants of this family. It

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

would be against all consideration to demand salaries from her at this time. It would be against our sense of obedience."

But my colleagues would not agree.

On the fourth day, two of my companions Afrasiab Beg and Baroz Beg, came to me and said "If you come with us well and good, otherwise we are proceeding to the Begam today. We are going to kill her." Having said this, they departed. I sent Darah Beg to persuade them to return. I was afraid that they might do something disgraceful.

The Begam attacked :

Afrasiab Beg and Baroz Beg went to the Begam. They seized her and threw her to the ground. They wanted to kill her. At that time the Begam used her wits and hit upon a stratagem. She said "Your demands of arrears are proper. I have considerable jewellery with me. If you let me go, I will pay every pie of the pay demanded by you."

On hearing these words, they released the Begam. In the meanwhile Taqi Beg and Muqim Beg were coming from the Bazar. They heard the commotion and ran inside. The Begam seized this opportunity. She ran to the terrace and cried out loudly, " These treacherous fellows have come to kill me. Is there any one who will seize them and free me from danger ?" On hearing her words a few servants joined by some outsiders came running. The four persons concerned got frightened and came out. The Begam said, "It appears that Tahamas Khan is at the bottom of this conspiracy. He has remained in his tent. He has instigated these persons. " The Begam ordered her attendant to fetch me. I went to the Begam. I noticed that a number of persons had gathered there. As soon as the Begam saw me she started abusing me saying "It is you who have instigated this mischief."

I said "Your Highness may not believe, but Almighty God is my witness. I tried to prevent them from committing such acts. I told them that we had been brought up by your Highnesses' family. But these foolish persons have, without my knowledge, been responsible for this deed. I am helpless."

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

In the meanwhile the Kotval (Police Chief) of Jammu arrived. He was a mischievous person. He said to the Begam "I will take these people outside and set matters right."

He then took us outside and said to us "The Begam is a bad woman. The Rajah is also dissatisfied with her. I will decide your case before evening." He then went to the Begam and said to her " I will settle with all these persons by tomorrow." He then returned to his house. He then sent a person demanding a pearl necklace from me and offering to set matters right. I informed him that I was in great financial difficulties. How could I procure a pearl necklace?

Next day in the afternoon he called me and Afrasiab to his house. As soon as we entered his house, about fifty persons fell upon us. They bound us with ropes and threw us in a dark well. Muqim Beg and Hussen Beg were also summoned by him and similarly treated. The Kotwal repeated his demand for the pearl necklace saying that unless the necklace was forthcoming I would be drowned. He then went to the Begam and said " Do not let these people go. Do not show any kindness to them. They are mischievous people. " I was tied securely. I could not move at all. The arms of my companions were free. God was kind to me. The Begam's attendants came to the place. They let us out and released us. The Begam rebuked the Kotwal for illtreating her men.

On being released I went to the Begam and protested my innocence. She said " The four persons who insulted me should be sent out with their families from Jammu immediately." They considered themselves fortunate that they had been released. They went towards Sialkot, which was twenty Kos away. Muqim Beg and Taqi Beg were kept by the Begam under detention. Afrasiab Khan and Baroz went towards the camp of Khwajah Mirza Khan. Nothing is known about their whereabouts.

Khwajah Mirza Khan at Lahore :

At that time Khwajah Mirza Khan was administering Lahore. The Qizalbash troops of Ahmad Shah Abdali had been entertained in service by Khwajah Mirza Khan. Their chiefs, now conspired with the Maratha chiefs posted at Lahore. The names

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

of these Qizalbash Chiefs were Mirza Ahmad Khan and Saleh Khan. Mirza Ahmed Khan became the Governor of Lahore, while Saleh Khan became the Governor of Multan. They used their wiles with the Marathas. They paid them some money and promised some more. They imprisoned Khwajah Mirza Khan. They then sent troops in Lahore and arrested Khwajah Said Khan, the brother of Khwajah Mirza Khan.

Muhammad Sayeed Khan Qakchak :

Nawab Gaziuddin Khan (the Vazir of the Mughul emperor) had, during the time when Taimur Shah was at Lahore, sent Muhammad Sayeed Khan Qakchak on an embassy to Ahmad Shah Abdali at Qandahar. After a long time he returned from Quandahar and arrived at Jammu. As Muhammad Sayeed Khan was one of the trusted officers of the late Muinulmulk, I went to him and said "Muhammad Sayeed Khan Bahadur, we are under obligation to the late Muinulmulk. His wife, the Mughalani Begam is at present under great financial distress. Her condition has become desperate. It would be in keeping with our sense of devotion to that family that Mughalani Begam's daughter should be separated from her and taken to her sister (Gaziuddin's wife) at Delhi. Gaziuddin will be pleased with this step and we will have done some return for the obligations of the late Muinulmulk."

Muhammad Sayeed Khan agreed. He praised me for my sense of devotion. I then went to the Begam and told her in persuasive words that since Muhammad Sayeed Khan was agreeable, it would be advisable to send her daughter with other dependants to Delhi, with him, while the Begam could continue to stay in Jammu as best as she could. The Begam agreed. When Muhammad Sayeed Khan arrived to see her she expressed her willingnesss and made him responsible for all arrangements. It was also decided that I and my companions should also go to Delhi. But the Begam had no money. Muhammad Sayeed Khan undertook responsibility to meet all the expenses of the Begam's daughter's journey to Delhi.

A strange incident :

It will be recalled that Muhabbat, a Khwajah Sara of the

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

Begam, had run away to Delhi. One of the maid servants of the Begam was in love with him. Her name was not on the list of persons who were to accompany us to Delhi. She suddenly disappeared from the house. When the Begam heard this news, she got wild with rage. She beat her servants so severely that one maid servant died. The Begam thought that I was responsible for the disappearance of the maid servant. She spoke severely to me.

As her daughter's travel arrangements required three hundred Rupees, the Begam had no alternatives. She entrusted me with all arrangements to the best of my ability.

I then went to Khwajah Sayeed Khan. He had but lately fled from the prison of Ahmad Khan. When I told him of my needs, he gladly gave me the amount. I took it to the Begam. She said, "You have accomplished this work for me; otherwise in the case of the maid servant, I would never have let you go. Promise on oath, to send the maid servant, if you find her on the way, to me."

I gave the promise. I then hired ten to fifteen carriages and taking the Begam's daughter and her maid servants I left for Delhi. I travelled for one month. At last I reached Delhi (September 1759).

On the way, my companions told me that the maid servant might be in the entourage. A search be made. I told them that Muhammad Sayeed Khan might take it ill. He had been meeting all our expenses. It would not be proper to make an enquiry. My companions remained silent. But they said among themselves "Tahmas Khan is himself taking the maid servant to Muhabbat, the Khwajah Sara."

Tahmas Khan at Delhi---Sept. 1759.

With the escort provided by Muhammad Sayeed Khan, we reached Delhi. The Begam's daughter was taken to the palace of Gaziuddin. The Khwajah Sara, why, even Umada Begam (Mughalani Begam's elder daughter and Gaziuddin's wife) spoke to Gaziuddin, asking him to take us in his employment. He refused. We were very sad and anxious. For a few days we went about in search of employment. But it was of no use

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

Meanwhile, news spread in the establishment of the Wazir (Gaziuddin) that the maid servant, who had disappeared from the Begam's residence at Jammu had appeared in the house of Muhabbat, the Khwajah Sara, at Delhi. My Colleagues said "We had asked Tahmas Khan to make enquiries on the way. He had refused." I was put to great shame at the talks people were having about me. I had no answer to give.

My colleagues went to Muhabbat, the Khwajah Sara. He had a contingent of four hundred troops with him. He was in affluent circumstances. He said to them. "If you agree to entering services, I will pay Tahmas Khan one Rupee and each of you half a Rupee per day." They came to me with the proposal. I refused. I said "I will never accept service under him. The maid servant who disappeared from Jammu, is in his house. If I seek service under him I will be disgraced. What reply shall I give to the Begam?"

It so happened that at this time rumour spread that Ahmad Shah Abdali was coming. On hearing this news, Gaziuddin Khan, the Vazir, sent his family to Bharatpur in the territory of Surajmal Jat. The family in their journey first halted at Faridabad, about twelve Kos from Delhi. From that place Umda Begam sent an order to me to go to her along with two other persons and enter her service. I went to her and pleaded that all my colleagues be taken in her service. She agreed. All of my colleagues were employed on a salary of Rs. thirty each per month, while I was paid fifty per month. We accompanied Umda Begam to Bharatpur. We stayed there for a month. I was entrusted with the distribution of the pay of the whole establishment. After some time Umda Begam sent some articles to Gaziuddin at Delhi through Nauroz, the Khwajah Sara. We five horsemen were appointed to escort him. We reached Delhi safely. Next day Khwajah Sara handed over the articles to Gaziuddin. The following day he asked for leave to depart.

Nawab Gaziuddin Khan said "Stay for three or four days. I have some necessary work with Tahmas Khan."

On hearing these words of the Nawab, I got frightened. On a previous occasion, at Sirhind, Gaziuddin had, on the words of the Khala Begam (Gaziuddin's aunt) said that he would put me to death. He must have remembered that occasion. One

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

day he called me. I paid my respects from a distance and returned hurriedly.

Gaziuddin's Doings :

When Ahmad Shah Abdali first came to Delhi, Gaziuddin had sent the two sons of the emperor Alamgir Second, out of Delhi, for the purpose of organising troops. When Ahmad Shah Abdali devastated India and returned to Qundahar, Gaziuddin recalled the two princes to the fort and put them under surveillance. The third prince Ali Gohar who was the eldest son of the Emperor, was also called by Gaziuddin to the fort. Ali Gohar had developed the ambition for power. He refused to go to the fort. Gaziuddin then used sweet words of deceit and persuaded Ali Gohar to occupy the palace of Ali Mardan Khan. He promised that Ali Gohar could remain in perfect security. After two or three days, Gaziuddin sent troops to surround the palace of Ali Mardan Khan (19 May 1758). His aim was to secure the person of Ali Gohar through all possible means. Prince Ali Gohar prepared to defend himself. Fighting raged between the two parties for two or three days. The palace was blocked. As Gaziuddin's troops were numerous, Prince Ali Gohar broke the wall of the palace and, fighting bravely, escaped with a few of his companions. At that time the Maratha Chief Vitthal Rao (Vitthal Shivdev Vinchurkar) was camping near the palace of Muhammad Khan Bangash. Ali Gohar allied himself with Vitthal Rao. Gaziuddin's troops were helpless against Vitthalrao's army. They returned. After a few days, Vitthalrao accompanied the prince towards the east. Prince Ali Gohar underwent great hardships and had to witness many struggles in that region.

Emperor Alamgir Second Murdered (*29th November* 1759) *:*

While I was at Bharatpur, one night we were awakened by a messenger from Gaziuddin. We were asked to go to Delhi and join Ambar Khan, the Khwajah Sara, who was the chief of a contingent of troops. We immediately mounted our horses and left for Delhi. We arrived there early in the morning. We presented ourselves before Ambar Khan in the afternoon. He

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

then rode towards the sands of the river below Kohtila Firuzshah. When I saw the formation of the troops I asked the soldiers. They said "The emperor has gone to see a Darvesh (holy man). The troops are here to provide a guard of honour on his return."

After one Ghadi had passed a messenger came running.He whispered something in the ears of the Khwajah Saras. On this he left for the fort. We reached the fort earlier. The custodian of the fort, Bag Khan obstructed our entry into the fort. In the meanwhile, Ambar Khan came up. Bag Khan who had been appointed custodian by Gaziuddin, now opened the gates. We got down from our horses and entered the fort on foot. We then went to the Divani Khas. Ambar Khan made us stand near the Divani Khas while he went inside the palace accompanied by a few Khwajah Saras. People nearabout me were whispering amongst themselves. I could not understand what the matter was.

After an hour they said to me "the Emperor Alamgir had gone out to see a Darvesh. As the fates had ordained, he fell from the terrace of the building and lost his life. The prince Shahajahan has become the emperor." At that moment kettel drums and other instruments began to play in the fort.

I then saw that Shahajahan was brought out and placed on the throne. In the Divani Am, people from all directions came and made obeisance to him according to the court etiquette.

We stayed there till midnight. The Khwajah Saras brought boxes full of jewels and handed them over to their people. I returned to my quarters.

Next day (30th November 1759), Gaziuddin, drunk with power and not caring for good or evil, murdered the Vazir Nizamuddowlah, the younger brother of the late Muinulmulk. Gaziuddin, although related to Nizamuddowlah (his maternal uncle) felt that the latter might claim the prime ministership.

Next day we paid our respects to Gaziuddin. After two days, we left Delhi and in a few days we reached Bharatpur. Umda Begam kept us in her service for a month. She then discharged us from service. My colleagues said, "The Begam has to pay us our salaries for two months. We should ask her". I told them that it would not be proper to do so as we had been brought up by that family (of Umda Begam).

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

We then left Bharatpur and arrived at Delhi.
Abdali Maratha conflict. :

When we arrived at Delhi, the air was thick with rumours of the arrival of Ahmad Shah Abdali. A Maratha chief who was posted at Lahore had been badly defeated by the armies of Ahmad Shah Abdali. The remnant of the Maratha army had come away.

Other Maratha chiefs, Jankoji and others had, with two lacs troops, invested Najibkhan Rohilla at Shukratal. On hearing of the arrival of Ahmad Shah Abdali they raised the siege of Shukratal (8 December 1759) and accompanied by Gaziuddin, crossed the Jamuna at Barari Ghat and came to Delhi.

Dattaji Shinde Killed (9 *January* 1760)

Ahmad Shah Abdali crossed the river Jamuna (22nd December 1759) and arrived at Saharanpur. He called Najibkhan from Shukratal to his side. He took Najibkhan with him and arrived at Luni. The river Jamuna was between the Marathas and Abdali. The armies got ready to fight. They discharged rockets, and gun fire from across the river. The army of the Abdali, under his orders, entered the river and engaging the enemy, proceeded to cross the river.

Dattaji Patel, the chief of the Marathas, who was a brave man, rode and charged at them (Abdali's army), God's will ! At the very first encounter he was killed by a bullet, which hit him on the brow. Jankoji, from the rear charged on horseback. He received swordcuts and retreated. The Marathas and Gaziuddin were defeated. They retreated. The victory of Ahmad Shah Abdali, who appeared as a second Halaku (the Mongol tyrant) to the people, became obvious.

Sack of Delhi by the Afghans :

The next day (10th January 1760) the army of Abdali entered Delhi through the city gates early in the morning. As the day advanced, the troops started pillaging and plundering the city.

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

At this time, I, accompanied by five horsemen from among our colleagues, started towards the camp of Ahmad Shah Abdali. None obstructed us. But we came across one thousand troops of Abdali who had been posted as watch and ward guards. When they saw us they took away our arms and horses. They wanted to kill us. But a few among them said "Let us take these men with us into the city. They may be able to point out the houses of the wealthy to us." The same moment these people put us on horseback and brought us into the city. They started asking me about the houses of wealthy persons. I told them that I did not know any wealthy person in the city. Since I saw that unless I pointed out some houses, there was no possibility of my gaining freedom. I pointed out a big building to them. The soldiers, immediately broke open the doors of that building and entered it. I took this opportunity to jump from the terrace of the building into the lane which was on the other side and thus made good my escape. I wandered about till the evening. Then I returned to my house. In the locality near my house, there was a big building. Abdali's troopers were guarding that building. That very night I removed my women to that building.

Next day, the devastation and plunder of the city were carried on with greater intensity. The soldiers of Abdali gathered in great number in my locality. They said amongst themselves in the Turkish language "We should sack this locality as well."

On hearing these words, I immediately left for the camp of the Abdali, accompanied by my colleague Muquim Beg. We walked on foot. The distance to Abdali's camp at Luni was seven Kos. I suffered much from sore foot on the way. May God never make a horsemen walk on foot. I reached the camp and went to the quarters fixed for Mughalani Begam. The Begam's servants saluted me and said " The Begam has just today gone into the city."

I was reassured by this news. I spent the night in the camp. Next-day I took a few servants of the Vazir with me. They knew me well. I then rode into the city and went to the Begam. As soon as she saw me she flew into a rage and started abusing me. She said, "You had said that you had not spirited away the maid servant at Jammu. You had promised on oath that, were

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

you to find the girl in your entourage on the way you would send her to me. Your colleagues told you that the girl was in your entourage. But with this knowledge, you prevented them from making any enquiries. You were taking her to Muhabbat the Khwajah Sara. This is what your colleagues told you and what the whole city has been saying. The girl is in the house of Muhabbat."

I folded my hands and said "I have been in your service and have performed various duties. I have never spoken a lie. You have often praised me for my work. And now you are rebuking me. Is it possible that I could carry a girl to a Khwajah Sara? My colleagues have, out of spite, carried tales against me."

On hearing my words the Begam said angrily "You remove yourself from here. Do not show your face. Otherwise I will get you killed." Sadly I came out. I remained seated in a room. I was so much in grief that I had no appetite for food for three days.

The Begam had in the meanwhile called, to her house, our womenfolk, many relatives of hers and the families of many noblemen in Delhi. She secured one elephant from the Khwajah Sara who was in the town. She also secured tents, carpets and other necessary materials from the house of her mother-in-law, Sholapuri Begam. She loaded them on the elephant and a few camels. She asked my colleagues to take them and deposit them in the Begam's camp in the quarters allotted to the Wazir in the army of Abdali. This was to be done quietly. But she was not satisfied with my colleagues. As God was kind and the stars favourable to me, the Begam called me after two days and said "What shall I do? Without you my affairs do not succeed well. That is why I have called you. I want you to take my tents and fix them in the camp of Abdali." On her asking me how I proposed to do so, I told her of my plan. She was very pleased. I accordingly went to the camp of Abdali who had moved to the tank of Nawab Quamaruddin Khan, and fixed her tents.

The troops of Abdali and Najibkhan joined hands and committed terrible atrocities on the people of Delhi. They killed innumerable persons. Like the tree bereft of leaves and fruits in the winter, they thoroughly plundered the people and left them

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

with nothing. Thousands of men and women in all the localities became completely destitute. For fear of their lives they could not return to their houses. Many persons were carried away by the troops. The city had been completely devastated. The shops remained closed. Although drums were beaten every day that order had been restored, nothing came out of it. The soldiers of Abdali still swarmed through the streets.

Abdali now saw that he was powerless to control his army. He appointed Yakub Ali Khan an Afghan resident of Shahjahanpur and of the tribe of Shah Wali Khan, the Vazir, as the Governor of Delhi. He was instructed to inflict heavy punishments on Rohillas and other soldiers found indulging in loot and oppressions. Yakub Khan was a good man. He took the troops of Shah Wali Khan with him and entered the city. Through his officers he established order in the city. Life returned to the people again. They returned to their houses. Yakub Khan himself rode into each locality and gave assurances to the people. Every soldier of Abdali's army was expelled from the city. Strong guards were posted, so that no soldier could re-enter the city.

Abdali pursues the Marathas

Next day, Mughalani Begam moved into the camp of Abdali. I had fixed tents for her and made all other necessary arrangements for her. She was much pleased. I then said to her " The attendants here are not of much use. It would be better to select a few from my companions for the work here. "

The Begam said " I will not have any of them. They are mean and mischievous. They have taken great part in the lootings and plunderings in the city. " I said " Still, two or three persons would be required." She then said "For your sake I will pardon two of them. You select those who will obey you. "

I called Darah Beg and Ali Quli Beg. Abdali's army then marched and in a few days we arrived near Jaipur.

In that region was Malhar Rao who had an army of sixty thousand with him. He taunted Jankoji and others who had fled away saying " I will go and fight Ahmad Shah Abdali. If necessary I will march fifty to sixty Kos every day and meet him

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

in battle. " Malharrao then marched away. Within four days he had reached Delhi (24 February 1760). On hearing this news Ahmad Shah Abdali started in pursuit of Malharrao. He reached Delhi in two or three days. There he learnt that one day previous to this the Marathas had crossed the Jamuna and marching fourteen Kos, were camping at Secunderabad (28 February 1760).

Ahmad Shah Abdali immediately despatched an army of fifteen thousand well-equipped Afghan and Mughal troops under Sardar Jahan Khan to cross the river and pursue the Marathas.

After traversing fifteen Kos, these troops came across the Marathas. The Marathas were ten thousand in number. They defeated the Marathas (Fourth March 1760). Some of them who had good horses fled to the place where Malharrao was camping. He immediately mounted his horse and riding day and night for forty Kos fled to the South.

Ahmad Shah Abdali, marching by stages, reached Koil (Aligarh). As the rainy season was near, the army cantoned at Koil. Owing to the oppressions of the army, the town of Koil was completely ruined.

Two Kos from the town was the fort known as Sabit Gad. Since a few years it was in the possession of Surajmal Jat. Abdali's army attacked the fort and in a few days captured it (9 April 1760).

Affairs of the Mughalani Begam :

The Begam was at Jammu when Ahmad Shah Abdali arrived in India. The Begam went to his camp and met him. When Ahmad Shah saw that the Begam had become destitute, he took pity on her. He said "I have come to know how Jahan Khan grossly illtreated you at Lahore for a small matter." He then gave her in Jagir, Sialkot, in lieu of thirty thousand Rupees which he had fixed as her allowance.

The Begam then accompanied the Shah on his march to Delhi. Three to four months elapsed. The Abdali was at Koil. The Begam had appointed Koka (Abu Turab Khan) as her agent at Sialkot. Letters were being received continously from the Koka, that the Governor of Chahár Mahal was not handing

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

over charge of the district of Sialkot to him. And yet, Wazir Shah Wali Khan had issued the orders and the Begam had also written.

But this was of no use. I had borrowed four hundred Rupees from the Mughal Qizalbash to carry on the expenses of Begam's establishment. The payment of the loan was now due.

I said to the Begam "The daily expenses of the establishment are four Rupees per day. No one knows when the Jagir will come into your possession. Besides, the debts incurred here have to be paid. Under these circumstances how long will it be possible for me to carry on?" The Begam said, " I will agree to whatever you propose to do. " I said " If you appoint me to the Jagir I will go to Sialkot and exert myself in the administration. I will stake my life in the work."

The Begam kept quiet for a few days. In the end she gave me leave to depart.

Tahmas Khan at Sialkot

Mughalani Begam had long conversations with the Afghan Wazir Shah Wali Khan with regard to her Jagirs. The Wazir said " You always requested Ahmad Shah to confer on you the Governorship of Lahore, Kashmir and Multan. And now you are not able to take charge of the small Jagir of Sialkot, which has been given to you. How can you manage big provinces?"

The Begam said "I have a number of efficient people at Jammu."

The Wazir said "Then write to them to go and take charge of your Jagir at Sialkot."

The Begam returned to her quarters and reported the conversation to me. I said "It is a difficult problem. It will be very difficult for anyone to take away the Jagir from the hands of the Afghans. I do not see anyone who can undertake this work. That is why I would request you to enturst me with this work."

The Begam agreed. I then brought the Mughal, from whom I had been borrowing, to the Begam. The Begam was behind the curtain. I told the Mughal to pay two Rupees daily for the Begam's expenditure, and that I would repay all the debt within two months from the Jagir income.

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

I then took leave of the Begam. The Begam kept two camels, one carriage, and five attendants including Darah Beg with her. She handed over her other equipment, and attendants, male and female to me. She said " You can take such of your colleagues as you like, with you."

She gave orders appointing me and Abu Turab Khan to the administration of the Jagir asking us to work in union and agreement in Jagir affairs.

I then left the Begam and reached Gaziuddinnagar within three days. There I learnt that a son had been born to me. I rendered thanks to God. Next day I arrived at Delhi and went to my house. The boy was named Allah Yar Khan. (1760 A. D.)

I heard that Qasim Khan had become the captain of the artillery of Abdussamad Khan and that Abdussamad Khan had been reappointed by Ahmad Shah as the Governor of Sirhind. Qasim Khan was despatching cannons from Delhi to Sirhind.

I met Qasim Khan and told him of my departure to Sialkot as the agent of the Begam Saheb. Qasim Khan received me well and said "If you wait for fifteen days, you can carry these cannons to Sirhind. Without elephants they cannot be sent." He also entertained my colleagues on two annas per day to make arrangements for the despatch of the artillery. I said "How can they subsist on two annas per day? You may show them consideration by way of further concessions so that they may be satisfied. You may also allow them to sit in your presence when somebody calls, as this act would raise their self-respect."

I stayed in Delhi for twenty five days. I had a small illness. My colleagues used to come daily to me to enquire after me. One day I received a letter from the Begam in which she had written to say " May God's blessings be on you. What you had said was correct. Your colleagues had maligned you out of spite. I have received a letter from Jammu from which I find that the maid servant, who I had supposed, had escaped to Delhi, had appeared again in Jammu. She has been kept under detention."

When my colleagues heard of this, they became very much ashamed of themselves. I did not think it proper to take them with me to the Jagir. In case I succeeded in managing it, they

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

might say that it was all due to their efforts.

I took my family with me. I accompanied the artillery to Sirhind. I reached Sirhind in a few days. I left my family and the family of Darah Beg at Sirhind. I gave them some money for their needs and moved forward.

When I reached Jullundhar, I found that Sarbuland Khan of the tribe of Ahmad Shah had been appointed governor of Lahore. He was camping at Jullundhar. He proposed to stay at Jullundhar and appoint one Saadat Yar Khan as his deputy at Lahore. Saadat Yar Khan wanted to purchase my elephant. I thought it politic to deposit the elephant with him for four months. I then arrived at Jammu, traversing the hilly regions. By God's grace the governor of Chahar Mahal had been transferred and Rustum Khan Bangash had been appointed in his place. It was the previous Governor who was proving an obstacle in our taking over the Jagir.

I and Rustum Khan were together for two or three days. We entered Sialkot together.

The revenue officials created difficulties. They were instigated to do so by the previous agents appointed by the Begam. Even Rustum Khan was influenced by them. But one day I threatened to kill them. Thereafter everything went off smoothly. The rabi crops had been gathered. It was still two to three months for the rainy season. Collection of revenue was very difficult. But I kept a force of one hundred and fifty-five men with me. I behaved with tact. I gave a remission of eight thousand rupees to the cultivators. The result was that people worked sincerly. And Land revenue which was due, was brought every day to the treasury. I however, told the cultivators that every year there would be an increase in the revenue demand. I appointed a Hindu as my secretary. The Mulla who had cheated the Begam at Jammu to the tune of two thousand Rupees, fell into my hands. I put him in prison.

At this time the following news was received from Delhi. Bhau, the Maratha Chief, had with an army of three to four lacs horses and foot, had with the intention of fighting Ahmad Shah Abdali arrived at Delhi (August 1760). Mughalani Begam had left Ahmad Shah's camp and arrived at Jammu.

Out of the Land Revenue realised, eleven thousand Rupees,

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

one thousand Rupees were paid to Government as Nazrana. I gave five hundred Rupees to Abu Turab Khan Koka who had worked with me on behalf of the Begam.

Meanwhile the Governor of Chahar Mahal with one hundred and fifty horses and foot came out of Sialkot to fight the Sikhs. On hearing this, in a shortwhile I also galloped off and joined him at a distance of two Kos. I enquired where he was going. He replied that there was a village six Kos off where fifty Sikhs were fighting with the Zamindars (Landholders). The Zamindars had informed him and so he was bound for that place in order to punish them. I accompanied him. When we covered six Kos we found the village invested by nearly four thousand Sikhs. On seeing our troops from a distance, they left the village and fell upon us from all sides. There was a fort nearby. It was in ruins. We entered it. The fighting commenced. The Sikhs surrounded the village from afternoon to midnight and made the situation of the village critical.

We spent the night in great anxiety. When the day dawned, I saw that Sikhs and Zamindars were coming upon us from all sides. They started fighting and made our situation critical. They shouted loudly "Hand over Rustum Khan, the governor of Chahar Mahal to us." For three or four Gharis (for about an hour and half) we fired on them. Afterwards as our gunpowder stock was finished we became helpless. The Sikhs grew bold and came below the fort. Under these circumstances we hurled on them, stones, clods of earth, broken earthen vessels, pieces of wood, in short, anything that we could lay our hands on . We kept them away till midnoon by fighting boldly. At last the Sikhs began to climb the bastions and break open the doors.

At this, Rustum Khan, I, and six other men, tied pieces of cloth round our waists and holding our swords we came out of the door. By chance my foot slipped near the gate and I fell down. The Sikhs rushed forward and captured me. A few paces, and Rustum Khan was also captured. One of my colleagues Allah Vardi Beg was killed. By that time about twenty thousand Sikhs and Zamindars had gathered. They took us to the village where fighting had taken place. As night came, they demanded one lac of Rupees from me. The discussion was prolonged till midnight. At last the deal was settled for six hundred Rupees.

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

It was settled that I should go to my village the next day, and give them an order on some person in Jammu. Then I would get permission to go to Jammu safely.

Accordingly two or three Sikhs were sent to the village. About one Hundred Sikhs too went in that direction. They allowed me to ride on horseback for two or three Kos. Afterwards they forced me to walk. I walked a distance of seven Kos. I was much exhausted. My feet began ache. Then I caught sight of the city of Pasrur from a distance of two or three Kos. At that time the Sikh who was on horseback uttered a prayer saying, "Oh Guru, whoever utters your name in the morning is never disappointed in any undertaking". At this, tears came to my eyes. I remembered God and prayed for deliverence from the Sikhs. I was still praying when I noticed a fort on the way. The Zamindar of that place with forty or fifty musketeers fell upon the Sikhs. He defeated them and carried off all their plundered goods and baggage. He released us and brought us in his fort. At the time of the evening prayer the Sikh who was carrying us sent the Zamindar of the fort a word that the Mughal whom he had seized was to be ransomed by the Sikh Chief for six thousand Rupees and that he was responsible for that sum. On hearing this the Zamindar put us in detention in a tower.

As regards Rustum Khan it was decided that he should pay a ransom of two lacs of Rupees. The money was to be obtained from Sialkot. After two, about forty thousand Sikhs went to Sialkot to demand money. As the fort of Sialkot was strong and situated on an eminence, the Diwan of Rustum Khan prepared for a fight. He also called upon Khwajah Mirza Khan for assistance. Khwjah Mirza Khan had taken a few Mahals situated near Sialkot, from Sarbaland Khan Saaduzai, (Governor of Lahore). The Diwan wrote to Mirza Khan to say that if the latter were to come to his assistance he would be paid two thousand Rupees as a price for putting down the Sikhs. It would also redound to the credit of Mirza Khan. Mirza Khan was fifteen Kos away. But on receipt of the Diwan's letter he immediately marched a distance of five Kos. As soon as this became known, the Sikhs plundered Sialkot and went away to a distance of five Kos. They sent word to the Zamindar who had released me. He did not know who

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

I was. He took me to be an ordinary soldier. I was detained in the fort for ten days. I prayed to my Pir (Spiritual Guide) Syed Abid, to get me released from the bondage. That afternoon when I was sleeping I saw in my dream a holy man waking me with a stick. He was saying " Pay up something and go away from this place."

When I woke up, the Zamindar came to me and said "If you pay me two hundred Rupees I will take you to Sialkot." I got the amount. Next night he sent me to Sialkot.

Tahmas Khan at Jammu :

After two days I met the Begam. She had arrived in Jammu only twenty days prior to this. The fifteen thousand Rupees which I had sent, had been spent by her. She also took the five hundred Rupees which I had retained with me for Nazrana (due to Government). She received me kindly. She rebuked Abu Turab Khan Koka, saying "During this period you have not exerted yourself. Tahmas Khan alone achieved this during this short period. "

Due to this reason, Abu Turab Khan and his mother (once a wetnurse to the Begam) became my enemies. They represented day and night to the Begam, "Tahmas Khan has collected thirty thousand Rupees. He has deposited ten thousand Rupees with a banker. He has further distributed eight thousand Rupees as rewards to various persons. The rest he has brought to you. This too was meant to show what he had done. I (Abu Turub Khan) have, on the other hand, exercised the utmost economy. I have not wasted a single Rupee."

But the Begam had been pleased with my work. I said "If I can send one agent to Sialkot, the affairs will run smoothly." But Abu Turub did not want this. He felt that if I was degraded and he be allowed to send an agent, he would get credit for successful management of affairs. So Abu Turab, his wife, mother and sister all influenced the Begam so much that I was imprisoned by her. Abu Turab sent one of my colleagues, Darah Beg, as his agent to Sialkot.

Darah Beg went to Sialkot. None of the Landholders of the Jagir went to see him. He then took the Begam to Sialkot.

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

For fifteen days none of the Zamindars called on her.

At that time Rustum Khan, had paid twenty two thousand Rupees to the Sikhs, through the Raja of Jammu and had obtained his release. He was at Sialkot. He said to the Begam "You cannot get a better and more efficient man than Tahmas Khan. You should not leave him." Disappointed, the Begam returned to Jammu. The Rajah of Jammu and his minister also said "Tahmas Khan is a well wisher. It is not proper to keep him under detention." But the Begam did not listen. She placed more restrictions on me.

The battle of Panipat (14th *January* 1761).

Bhau the Maratha, along with Vishwas Rao and three to four lakh troops consisting of cavalry and infantry, and all ready to fight, arrived at Delhi and camped there. In view of this big army, Yaqub Ali Khan, the Governor of Delhi shut himself up in the fort. From the ramparts of the fort he fought with guns and mortars for a day or two. Afterwards he made peace with the Marathas. He left the fort with all his equipment and crossed the river Jamuna. Delhi now came under the full control of the Marathas. The family of Alamgir Second, held talks with Bhau. After the murder of Alamgir Second, Shahajhan Second had ascended the throne. He was sent back to the quarters allotted for the princes. The Marathas enthroned Jawanbakht, son of the Prince Ali Gohar.

When Prince Ali Gohar heard of the murder of his father, he was away in Bengal. On receipt of the news he ascended the throne and proclaimed himself Emperor.

When Ahmad Shah got the news of the occupation of Delhi, by Bhau, he was at Koil (Aligarh) . He called Shujauddowlah, Ahmad Khan Bangash, Hafiz Rahmat Khan and Najib Khan to his side. He then marched from Koil and reached Shahdara, and camped there. At that time the river Jamuna was in floods.

Bhau marched and came upto Panipat. Sardar Samad Khan who was the Governor of Sirhind, on behalf of Ahmad Shah, had arrived with his army at Kunjpura. There a battle took place with the Marathas. The distance between Panipat and Kunjpura must be about twenty Kos. But the Marathas attacked

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

Samad Khan and destroyed his army. They also devastated Kunjpura the same day. They killed Samad Khan and Najabat Khan Rohilla.

Qasim Khan, who had become the captain of Samad Khan's artillery was captured by the Marathas. At that time Sai Khan, the son of Farra Khan the Mughal captain was present. He said "This Mughal is my servant and is (like myself) in the service of the Marathas." In short, Sai Khan got Qasim Khan released and sent him to his home.

At this time, Ahmad Shah crossed the river Jamuna and arrived near Panipat. Bitter fighting started. Daily, fighting would occur between the contestants and men would be killed. The Marathas were sturdy soldiers. They were very much adept in the guerilla type of warfare. They were also very alert. Yet in the face of the Afghan army they could not do anything. Ahmad Shah blockaded the enemy from all sides. He would not allow any provision to reach the Marathas. The Marathas once or twice tried to procure supplies and attack the army of Ahmad Shah. But not one of them escaped safely from the attacks of Ahmad Shah's army. They were all captured. When the Marathas saw this, they became frightened. They placed cannons and other guns round their army. They erected fortifications round the camp. There was great distress in the army. The situation at last reached a stage when no one from the Maratha camp could set his foot outside the fortifications.

At last, due to scarcity of grain, the Maratha army was reduced to terrible helplessness. It then marched out to the battlefield to give battle. Ahmad Shah mounted his horse. The battle was joined. Those who were present in the battle say, "It was a tremendous battle. The exploits of Rustum and Isfindiar were repealed, between the contending armies."

As fate would have it, Bhau and Vishwasrao, the Maratha chiefs were killed. The Maratha army was defeated. Out of the four lakh Marathas, one lakh must have escaped with their lives. The rest were defeated, and killed. Great wealth, such as gold, ornaments, and innumerable other articles fell into the hands of the army of Ahmad Shah, other chiefs and the Zamindars of the nearby areas. From that victory from the Invisible, everyone became rich and affluent.

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

After the victory, Ahmad Shah handed over Delhi to Najib Khan. He then turned towards Qandahar.

My affairs :

I now turn to my affairs. I remained in the imprisonment of the Begam for six months. The Kharif crops of the Jagir had been harvested. They were to bring a land revenue of twenty thousand Rupees. Actually only three thousand were realised.

Fateh Ali Khan, one of the Qizalbash chiefs was a superintendent of the audience chamber of Shah Wali Khan, the Afghan Vazir. He had been appointed to realise revenues from Jammu. He spoke to the Begam and got me released from the prison.

At this time Ahmad Shah was on his way to Qandahar. He passed through Lahore. At Sialkot, on the main line of communication, the Landholders of Sialkot, out of fear of the Afghan army, came to the Begam's officers. But once the army moved they stopped coming.

Abu Turab Khan Koka died after a short illness. The Begam was full of grief for his death. She said to me " You have practised some witchcraft and killed my fosterbrother. " The Begam was angry with me for a few days.

Darah Beg had been appointed as the official for Jagirs. He was dismissed after a few days. A Khwajah Sara was appointed in his place. Darah Beg was reduced to this condition. I said " You were a colleague, and yet you turned against me. I did not expect this behaviour from you. " Darah Beg was full of repentance. He said " I will never commit such a mistake again. I have my son Turah Beg. I only desire that he should be looked after. Kindly see that I do not starve. " I gave him some amount for two or three months.

The Begam's affairs

After the mourning for the Koka Abu Turab was over, the Begam appointed a Khwajah Sara to manage all her affairs. So long as I held that post I used to speak words of advice to

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

her and tell her tales emphasising the need for proper behaviour. The Begam too was not guilty of any improper conduct.

But during the period of six months when I was under detention, scandals again started. A person, named Shah Baz, began to frequent the Begam's house. There was a great scandal about it in Jammu for the previous two or three months.

The Begam wanted to confiscate the property of the deceased Koka. But his mother (once wetnurse to the Begam) did not give anything. Due to this, quarrel broke out between the Koka's people and the Begam. The Begam's house became subject to stone-throwing at midnight everyday. Her manager, the Khwajah Sara could do nothing to stop it. The Begam then remembered me. She called me and told me of her troubles. As I was under a cloud, nobody was paying any attention to me. I therefore seized this opportunity and said " I will investigate this case, and find out who indulges in stone-throwing, within eight days." The Begam was pleased at my remark. She dismissed the Khwajah Sara whom she had appointed to manage her affairs and appointed me instead. I started going to the Rajah of Jammu with a view to recovering the goods of Abu Turab Koka, estimated to be of one lakh Rupees. But luck favoured the father of the Koka. He conspired with the Rajah, his minister and officers and got them to side with him.

For this reason the Begam was very much disappointed with the Rajah. She left Jammu and took up her residence at Samba (Thirty miles south east of Jammu). It was within the jurisdiction of another Rajah. She left me at Jammu to wind up her affairs. She said " When you come to me, I will appoint you to manage my Jagirs. "

I was in Jammu for seventeen days. I then went to see the Begam. I saw that the Begam had sent away my family and other female attendants of her establishment to a place known as Paramandal. She was staying alone with the person (Shahbaz) to whom I have made a reference above. She had married him.

She said to me " I have married him. You should go and pay your respects to him and present an offering of five Rupees. I will give you one good sword and a pearl necklace. I will also hand over the management of the Jagir to you. "

As I did not agree to what she said. She was very angry

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

with me. I reminded her of her illustrious family, of the Prime Minister Qamaruddin, her father-in-law, of Muinulmulk, her husband, of Nawab Jani Khan, her father, of Nawab Abdussamad Khan, her grandfather (from the mother's side) Zakariya Khan, her maternal uncle, and of Nizamulmulk. I said, " You have brought disgrace to your family. Ahmad Shah Abdali had addressed you as his daughter. You can write to him saying that, to avoid scandal you wanted to marry in a good family. On receiving permission you can select someone of good family and marry him. In that case your Jagir can also continue."

The Begam did not say anything. But she looked at me angrily. She said to me " You go and stay at Paramandal. I will arrive there and then give you leave to depart."

I went to Paramandal. The Begam arrived there in the night with her husband. On the way she consulted her husband about the treatment to be given to me. If I were to be put in prison, affairs would deteriorate. But if I were to be left free, I might scandalise her. The only proper course, according to the Begam was to kill me. She placed a guard of fifty persons on me. She decided to get me killed the following night. But my life was destined to be preserved.

There was a Bairagi who owned the place. He had also a temple under him. Early in the morning, I sent word to him, saying, " I am in great distress. Please help me. I have three or four dependants with me. Send a force and release me from this situation. I will be much obliged to you. "

The Mahant immediately collected a force and came down. He rescued me.

Tahmas Khan leaves the Begam's service (June, 1761)

I took my family and Darah Beg and left for Jammu. I sold my aigrettes and tiara. I also mortgaged a few other things. I purchased two horses. I had one horse with me already.

Now that I had escaped from a terrible danger I began to search for employment. At that time Zain Khan Mohamand, was the Afghan Governor of Sirhind on behalf of Ahmad Shah. He was raising troops. I decided to go to him. The Rajah

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

of Jammu wanted me to enter his service. But I did not consider my prospects bright in that hilly region. I thought of going to Delhi and seek service under the Emperor or his officers. I made arrangements with a merchant to supply provisions for my family for six months. We four horsemen started. myself, Darah Beg, Aurab Beg and Faizullah Beg. We had one Rupee with us. We were joined by forty horsemen who desired to place themselves under me. Two Khwajah Saras whom I had known at Lahore, Miyan Matbah and Javid Khan by name, joined us. They advanced four Rupees for a tent to be purchased for me. But by the time Darah Beg went to the Bazar, the tent had been sold.

We then left Jammu. In the two stages that we marched I had to feed ten persons. The four Rupees which were with me were spent. At the third stage Darah Beg said "We have no money. What should be done now?" I replied "Let us put our faith in God."

That day I camped at a place sixty Kos distant from Jammu. My companions had not yet settled. I noticed that a Khwajah Sara arrived from Jammu. He said "Six months ago I had pawned my carpet with you. Here are the two Rupees which I am returning. Please return my carpet." I took the two Rupees and returned the carpet to him. I said "Your money will be of great use to me. If you have two Rupees more, I am prepared to part with my own carpet. It would not have been possible for me to move from this place."

We left that place the next day and arrived at the hills of Shahpur. The River Rawi flows nearby. The officer of the place asked for taxes (transit). I had the letters of the Rajah of Jammu with me. His men were also with me. I therefore crossed the river without paying any taxes. The boatmen, however, crowded round me for rewards. I had no money with me. So I said in a loud voice to Dardi Beg "Take two or three Rupees from some horsemen and give them to these boatmen." A horseman promptly opened his purse and gave the money. I then moved forward. On the way the horseman said "It appears that Tahmas Khan does not have money. I have two hundred Rupees with me." I heard him. I said to Darah Beg "This is good. We should take sixty Rupees from him as

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

loan." We then marched from Shahpur to Nurpur, Jwalamukhi, a holy place of pilgrimage for the Hindus, and Nadaun. Through hills and ravines we marched, sometimes on foot. The march was a difficult one.

The Sikhs

The Sikhs were in occupation of the entire region. Previous to this Nawab Mirza Khan had fought with his one thousand troops against forty thousand Sikhs and had been killed by them.

Khwajah Abid had been appointed the Governor of Lahore by Ahmad Shah. He came out a few stages from Lahore to put down Charat Singh (Grandfather of Maharajah Ranjit Singh). He laid siege to Charat Singh's place (Guzranwala). Charat Singh was in great difficulties. It so happened that there were some Sikh soldiers in the employ of Khwajah Abid Khan. He had also called one thousand Sikhs from the Doab. All these Sikhs conspired together and decided to fall on Khwajah Abid Khan at the time of his march and disperse his army.

On hearing of this, Khwajah Abid Khan fled to Lahore with a few attendants.

Saadat Khan and Sadiq Khan were in charge of the Doab, on behalf of Ahmad Shah. The Sikhs defeated and threw them out of that area as one would throw out a fly from the milk.

In short, from the river Attock to the Sutlej the Sikhs were in occupation of the province.

I went to Sirhind and saw Qasim Khan. He entertained me. He asked the persons who were with me, " I understand that Tahmas Khan had been given considerable jewellery by the Begam. He must be having something left with him."

But the persons said on oath, "Tahmas Khan has been reduced to starvation. What jewellery can he have with him? What Tahmas Khan told you on the first day of his arrival is correct." For twenty days Qasim Khan went on making enquiries in this manner. When at the end he found out that I had nothing with me, he stopped sending food to me. He also removed the horsemen who were in my service. We four horsemen alone remained. We had hardly anything left with us. We spent six months in very great distress.

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

Sardar Zain Khan, the Governor of Sirhind, had gone to the region of Rooji. We sustained ourselves with great difficulty. I asked for money from Qasim Khan. He did not give me a single pie. I held my patience. Meanwhile the news of the arrival of Ahmad Shah to put down the Sikhs got abroad. I demanded back from Qasim Khan, the loan of four hundred Rupees which I had advanced to him previously. He said that he would return it the next day.

Ahmad Shah's arrival to fight the Sikhs (*January* 1762)

Ahmad Shah reached Lahore (January 1762). He fought with the Sikhs. The Sikhs dispersed in face of the Afghan army. About fifty thousand Sikhs, cavalry and infantry came towards Sirhind and the region of Rooji and started disturbances. Sardar Zain Khan with ten to fifteen thousand troops came to Maler Kotla and camped there. The Sikhs too came and camped at a distance of seven Kos. Zain Khan received instructions that Ahmand Shah had crossed the two rivers of the Doab and was falling upon the Sikhs the next day. Zain Khan should start fighting the Sikhs in the morning. The Sikhs had also received intelligence of the Shah's movements. They tried to flee away. Qasim Khan had already been ordered to begin the fight. We also arrived. The Sikhs fled away. We pursued them for half a Kos. Just then the Sikh cavalry turned aside from the direction of Ahmad Shah and marched upon us. Qasim Khan could not withstand their assault. He started retreating. I prohibited him from doing so. But he did not listen to me. He went towards the camp at Malerkotla. I moved alone towards the left. By this time the fleeing Sikhs had disappeared. Murtuza Khan Bharaich, an officer of Zain Khan, was standing on an eminence with five hundred troops. I went and joined him.

Within an hour Ahmad Shah's army arrived and surrounded us. They thought that we belonged to the Sikh army. I alone was wearing the Kulah (Afghan head gear). I came out and explained the situation to the men of the Afghan army. Ahmad Shah was satisfied with my explanation. His spies too gave him the same intelligence. Ahmad Shah knew Murtuza Khan. He awarded him a robe and said "The Wazir Shah Wali Khan

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

and Zain Khan have gone in pursuit of the Sikhs. You too hasten and join them." Murtuza Khan, according to the habit of the Indians, moved slowly. I moved ahead. I covered a distance of ten Kos. I noticed that the Wazir Shah Wali Khan and Sardar Zain Khan were marching together. They had about four thousand troops an arrow throw ahead. They were driving the Sikhs in front.

At that time Zain Khan asked me "Where is Qasim Khan?" I said "When I saw him, he was, along with his troops, driving the Sikhs. I have no news of him. But I saw that the Sikhs were fleeing. Many of them were running hither and thither and were beseeching to be spared." The Afghan army pursued the Sikhs, killing and destroying them.

On that day (Fifth February 1762) the Afghans pursued the Sikhs up to the fort of Barnala (belonging to Ala Singh) a distance of twenty Kos. In that fight, probably twenty five thousand Sikhs must have been killed. As evening came the Afghan army camped there. The next day Ahmad Shah, who had marched by a different route, arrived.

The same day Qasim Khan arrived from Malerkotla. He gave out that the Sikhs had killed me. Darah Beg had gone to demand salary due to me from Qasim Khan. Qasim Khan said that Tahmas Khan (myself) owed money to him and that he could recover the amount as also articles from my effects.

The same day I saw Qasim Khan. He asked me "Did Zain Khan make enquiries about me?" I said "Yes. He asked me about your whreabouts. I told him that you had fled to Malerkotla".

On hearing this, Qasim Khan became very angry with me. I too did not spare him. I said "This is how you observe your previous oaths and agreements made to me. You have reduced me to misery. When my colleague came to you to get from you the salary due to me, you did not pay anything. On the other hand you said that I owed amounts to you. You owe me four hundred Rupees which you had taken from me at Lahore. I have not spoken about it till now."

I recovered my salary and sent it to Jammu.

Ala Jat waited upon Ahmad Shah. He submitted many

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

presents to Ahmad Shah and thus got a release. Ahmad Shah then marched towards Lahore. Zain Khan took leave of Ahmad Shah from the Doab and returned to Sirhind. I accompanied Zain Khan. He was very kind to me.

Tahmas Khan at Jammu :

The roads again had become open on all sides. The danger of robbery and fear of highwaymen disappeared from each direction because Ahmad Shah was staying in Lahore. I suggested to my colleagues Darah Beg and Faizullah Beg that they proceed to Jammu and bring our families soon as it appeared that after a month, roads might be closed again. They did not agree. I then left for Jammu. I had fifty Rupees with me. I went to Lahore. I heard that my family had arrived at Sialkot. I was practically destitute. I however, reached Sialkot.

I took my family with me. I paid my debts. I had only fifteen Rupees left with me. Things were very dear at Sialkot. Grain was selling at seven seers per Rupee. This was the rate at Sialkot, Lahore and the Doab.

I reached Lahore within four days. From there I moved forward. The fear of the Sikhs was growing day by day. The Afghan army had laid waste the area around Lahore. By God's grace I overcame all difficulties and arrived in the Doab on the third day. At Jullundhar, I borrowed some amount, and with great difficulty reached Sirhind with my family. The whole journey took me twenty four days.

At this time Ahmad Shah Abdali left Lahore for Qandahar (12 December 1762). Disturbances broke out throughout the province. I had foretold that within twenty five days disturbances would break out. This came to pass.

Birth of Saadat yar Khan (The Urdu poet) (January 1763) :

One month after I returned to Sirhind a son was born to me. I named him Saadat yar Khan.

One of my horses had been stolen. I sold one horse for one hundred and fifty Rupees. I gave one horse to Darah Beg. I had only one horse left. It was small in size and blind in one

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

eye. I used it for myself.

Fighting with the Sikhs went on every day. I had drawn my pay directly without reference to Qasim Khan. He was angry with me. I explained everything to Zain Khan and separated from Qasim Khan.

On hearing this Qasim Khan said to Zain Khan "If Tahamas Khan separates from me, I too will not remain in your service."

At this Zain Khan became angry. He said "I have observed that during the time of Taimurshah, you were dependent on Tahmas Khan. Now, owing to helplessness, he has come in your service. He had three or four horses. At present he has only one small horse with him. You want to deprive him even of that and turn him into a foot soldier."

After great wrangling I separated from Qasim Khan. Muhammad Mughal, Husain Beg, Faizulla Beg and Turah Beg joined me. Zain Khan gave me one hundred Rupees for the purchase of a horse. He also, in lieu of my salary, gave one horse from his stables. I had remained in the service of Qasim Khan for seven months. I had received from him nothing but illtreatment. Now that I separated from him. I was employed on duties like that of Sazawals (Executive Officers). In a few months I collected tents and other necessary material. I took eight persons in my employment.

Tahmas Khan decides to leave Zain Khan

From the condition of Zain Khan's army and his behaviour, I felt that things were taking an altogether different shape. It would be proper, I thought, to leave this place and proceed with my family to Delhi and thence to seek service under Shujauddowlah.

Tahmas Khan leaves for Delhi

Zain Khan began to behave in violation of the established principles of administration. He no longer paid the salaries of his soldiers. He began to plunder villages unnecessarily and from the booty brought he would make niggardly payments to his soldiers in lieu of their salary. He became friendly with the

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

Rajas of the hill-region. He began to make efforts to collect money. Owing to this behaviour of Zain Khan, I came to the conclusion that there were no prospects for me at that place.

For ten days I explained to each of my colleagues what the situation at Sirhind was and how I had decided to leave the place. I said to them. "If any of you cares to accompany me it will be good. I foresee that this army of Zain Khan will be destroyed and the city of Sirhind will be ruined and become a deserted town. As a friend, I am giving this warning beforehand. What you want to do, is your concern."

On this, many of my colleagues agreed to accompany me. I took twenty soldiers, my companions and horses with me and left Sirhind.

About fifty Afghans from Daila, accompanied us to Mustafabad. They had evil intentions. They told us that they were the servants of Murtuza Khan Bharich. They informed us that Zain Khan, had, in their presence, issued orders that no soldier should be allowed to go to Delhi. If anyone were to do so, he should be killed. The aim of these Afghans was to get a hundred or two hundred Rupees from us. With great skill we got rid of them at Mustafabad. We then went ahead and crossing the river Jamuna reached Jamal Garh. In our journey further, the local officials held that we were merchants dealing in horses. We protested that we were soldiers in search of jobs. They would not listen. We had to leave our horses and family at a place and had to make a promise to the official of that place that we would get the necessary orders from Zabita Khan (Son of Najib Khan) who was at Delhi. The area between the Jamuna and the Ganges is under the occupation of the Afghans. They never allow anyone to leave without payment of taxes. I had Abdullah Beg with me. He had joined me with eight soldiers. Taking Abdullah Beg and a footman with me I started.

After a journey of two days, I reached Delhi (1763 A. D.).

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

4

DELHI AFFAIRS —1763-1782

Tahmas Khan Arrives in Delhi 1763 *A. D.*

At the time I arrived in Delhi, it so happened that Nawab Najib Khan, Hafiz Rahmatkhan, Doonde Khan, Ahmadkhan Bangash were camping near Farrukhabad. They and Shujaud-dowlah were holding consultations with each other. (April 1763). Zabita Khan (The son of Najib Khan) was in the Delhi fort with a few people. He was immersed in pleasures. I used to go to his court everyday. On the fourth day I had an opportunity to submit my requests. He did not say anything in reply, I noticed that although to outward appearances he attended court. yet he was in reality much addicted to women. He would take his seat in the court just for a show. Within a short time he would retire to the female apartments. Once when he was retiring I requested him to name someone to whom I could explain my situation. He asked one Khiyali Ram who had recently been given the title of Rajah, to hear my case. This man was totally devoid of understanding. I waited on him for eight days. At last he said "Bring your horses. Get them branded. Then enter the service of the Nawab (Zabita Khan)."

I said "Twenty of our horses have been detained in the village of Kandila on the pretext of payment of Local dues. If an order is sent, they could be brought here."

He said "I will make enquiries and submit a report to the Nawab."

I felt extremely dejected. Fortunately a Hindu gentleman said to me "You please go to Divan Mahtab Rai. He is a good man. He will give you the permit for getting the horses." I went to Mahtab Rai. The Hindu gentleman said to him that

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

the Nawab had ordered the issue of permit, when he was present. Mahtab Rai issued the orders. Still, with great difficulty I got back the horses.

There was however no prospect of securing service. At the time of leaving Sirhind, I had one hundred Rupees with me. The money was spent. I was reduced to great straits.

It so happened that a jeweller who had taken an ornament from me on condition of payment of the price had disappeared from Jammu. I met him in Delhi. I pressed him for payment of my amount. He too was in distress. He however paid me one Rupee daily. With this amount I carried on with great difficulty.

Meanwhile the month of Ramzan drew near. The officers of Zabita Khan's army were invited to Delhi. Luckily I met one of them, Samad Khan by name. I explained to him my situation. On hearing me he said "The Nawab (Zabita Khan) has ordered me to maintain a few Mughal horsemen; on condition that they should not be allowed to leave and join the service of Shujauddowlah."

We had neither means nor money. We had no thought of joining the service of Shujauddowlah. We agreed to Samad Khan's conditions and joined his service. A few other Mughals who had been brought in for nonpayment of taxes were also taken in service. We were employed on salaries of fifteen to twenty Rupees. We were also given an advance of three hundred Rupees. I celebrated the Ramzan festival in great joy (15th April 1763). There were two Kayastha officers of good reputation in Najib Khan's service, Rajah Gulabrai and Rajah Mahtab Rai. One was the Diwan of Najib Khan. The other was in charge of the districts from Meerut to Saharanpur. I accompanied the contingent of Samad Khan. Although our pay was small and paid after delay, yet we managed to be free from worries in a short time.

After three months, Najib Khan returned from Farrukhabad to Majihabad (May 1763). He began to go through the army rolls. When our names were scrutinised, he said " I do not want to keep these Mughals in my service. " On hearing these words, we were very much worried. This anxiety lasted for about a month. Afterwards he grew kind towards us. Our names

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

were scrutinised again and entered afresh. The troopers were paid a salary ranging from twenty two Rupees to twenty nine Rupees. We three Jamadars were at the head of our men. I had twelve horsemen under me. Abdullah Beg had twenty horsemen under him while Agha Hussein comanded six horsemen. Agha Hussien used to receive sixty Rupees per month, Abdullah Beg fifty Rupees, while I received a salary of forty five Rupees. As we had suffered privations, uptill now, we considered these salaries as a boon.

When the rainy season came I took leave and came to Delhi. A month after the rainy season was over, Najib Khan too arrived in Delhi. I noticed that there were two thousand Mughals under him. I knew some of them. I established contacts, according to my habits, with those whom I did not know. They invited me to join their ranks. For various reasons, I did not agree to their proposals.

Najib Khan and the Jats

Najib Khan had, in the beginning, entered into a strong friendship with Surajmal, the Jat chief. They had exchanged turbans and sworn never to fight against each other. But as Surajmal's death was drawing near, he threw overbaord all the oaths of friendship. He attacked the fort of Farrukhanagar and captured it by treachery (12 December 1763). The fort was held by Musavi Khan Balach and had come into his possession from his father. Surajmal also took Musavi Khan prisoner. Surajmal then advanced on Gaziuddin Nagar and camped there. He meant to fight Najib Khan. Najib sent high and trusted dignitaries to him urging him to accept peace. But Surajmal would not agree. Finding no other alternative, Najib Khan crossed the river Jumna. He again made overtures of peace but to no effect. At last fighting broke out on the banks of river Hindun. Surajmal, whom death was stalking, crossed the river Hindun from the right side and attacked the army of Najib Khan. In the fight one Osman Khan, a Rohila chief was killed. Meanwhile Surajmal suffered a setback on the left wing. In the fighting he received a wound from a bullet. He rode a few paces and then fell down from his

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

horse (25 December 1763). The Mughalia troops pursued his army and recovered horses and other booty.

As night came, the Rohila army was in a state of consternation. When morning came, the Rohilas saw that the Jat army had fled. News was also received that Surajmal had been killed. The Rohila army was full of joy. It marched forward, within two or three days it reached the Parganas of the Jat kingdom.

But in spite of this victory which was won by the grace of God, the Rohila army was full of fear and anxiety. They were afraid that the sons of Surajmal, who possessed a numerous army might seek revenge for the death of their father.

The Sikhs (1764)

At this time news was received that the Sikhs had attacked Sirhind. Zain Khan, the Governor of Sirhind, was killed while fighting against them (14 January 1764). The Sikhs thoroughly devastated Sirhind and laid it in ruins.

A few days previous to this occurrence Qasim Khan and Murtaza Khan Bharech had become annoyed with Zain Khan and had left his service. They passed through Kunjpura with all their equipment.

The Sikhs, after looting Sirhind thoroughly crossed the Jumna at Buriya Ghat. They moved towards Saharanpur, Kandelah and Shambi (February 1764). On hearing of the arrival of the Rohila army they retreated towards their homes.

Qasim Khan and Murtaza Khan entered the service of Najib Khan. I had foretold the fate of Sirhind. Many remembered my words and praised me. About eighteen persons joined me. Among them were Suliman Beg and Nauroz Beg who had arrived from Turkey at the same time that I was brought. Knowing this I used to call them brothers.

The Sikhs started crossing the river Jumna and making raids every year. Najib Khan, whose territory was affected fought against them. In these fights, I performed meritorious service. My prestige increased. The Jamadar Samad Khan too started having friendly relations with me.

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

Jawahirmal's attack on Delhi (*December* 1764)

With a view to taking revenge for the death of his father, Jawahirmal, the son of Surajmal, raised a numerous army. He also paid huge amounts to Malhar Rao Holkar who commanded sixty thousand troops and made him his ally. He also called twenty thousand Sikhs to his side. Besides, he employed ten thousand soldiers belonging to the Naga Gasavis, noted for their bravery. With this army he came to Shahdara, on the other side of the River Jumna (November 1764). He surrounded Delhi from all sides. He started firing cannons, rockets, and guns. Najib Khan did not think it wise to come out of the city. He constructed entrenchments in the sands of the river at the foot of the city walls and carried them upto the palace fort. He even crossed the river a few times and fought the enemy. By God's grace, the Rohilas come out successful in these contests.

A day previous to the outbreak of fighting, I sent my family to a safe place under arrangements made by Basant Khan. This place was under the possession of Basant Khan.

Whenever the Jats appeared, Najib Khan fought against them. The Jats would fight from morning to evening and then retire. The struggle went on for a few months. There was great scarcity of grain in the city. Not even seven seers of grain could be had for one Rupee.

At this time news spread that Ahmad Shah Abdali had left Qandahar and had arrived at Sirhind. On hearing this news Jawahar Singh became frightened and concluding peace in whatever way possible, left for his country (16th February 1765). Through the requests of Najib Khan, Ahmad Shah returned to Kabul. Najib Khan left for Najibabad.

At this time a daughter was born in my family (1765)

After a few months I went to Najibabad. Najib Khan had maintained a number of scholars for academic and religious services. I used to associate with them. One night I had a dream. I dreamt that I was engaged in ablutions. Someone asked us to hurry as the Prophet was himself leading the con-

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

gregation for prayers. I hurriedly joined the congregation. I noticed that the mosque where I found myself was none other than the mosque of Medina.

I woke up from my dream. From that day Zabita Khan, (the son of Najib Khan) took a liking for me. Uptil now I was under Samad Khan. Zabita Khan now desired to take me in his direct employ. Samad Khan conveyed this news to me. But I said "I am a poor soldier. What relation can my services bear to the high status of the Nawab? I may be excused the direct service of the Nawab."

The Sikhs.

The Sikhs, after having completed their occupation and settlement of the Sirhind District in one year made a further advance. Four thousand of their horsemen looted the Saharanpur and Meerath districts. Najib Khan, for a month or two, moved in every direction where the Sikhs were reported to be roving, fought and usually defeated them. As they did not make a firm stand anywhere and offer battle, he had to run about after them. But they did not give up their jackal tactics. Three years passed in this way.

In these fights we distinguished ourselves. We gained praise and influence. The two Mughal chiefs who were in the service of Samad Khan left him and went away towards the east. My pay which was forty five Rupees per month was now increased to sixty Rupees. My troopers received an increase sometime of one Rupee and sometime of two Rupees every year. Zabita Khan still desired to take me in his employ but as I did not notice any excessive eagerness on his part, I held my patience.

Ahmad Shah

Ahmad Shah started from Kabul with a view to put down the Sikhs. He arrived at Thaneshwar, fourteen Kos from the river Jumna (1767). Najib Khan had arrived on the banks of that river. Ahmad Shah called Najib Khan. When Najib Khan arrived (9th March 1767)) Ahmad Shah took him to Sirhind with a view to destroy the Sikhs. A strong contingent

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

marched two or three days ahead. The Sikhs could not make a stand. They fled.

The Afghan army reached the Doab. The Sikhs then crossed the river Jumna and sacked Meerath, which was in the territory of Najib Khan (May 1767). Ahmad Shah tired of the jackalnature of these people, remained at his camp. He sent Jahan Khan and Zabita Khan with ten thousand veteran troops to put down the Sikhs. In a few days Jahan Khan reached the town of Shamli. The Sikhs came out to fight. But they could not make a stand. They fled away. On that day probably about nine thousand Sikhs lost their lives (May 1767). Zabita Khan had appointed me for scouting and had sent me in advance.

After victory had been achieved and the Sikhs had been expelled, Jahan Khan and Zabita Khan were sitting together when I went in and paid my respects. Jahan Khan had seen my meritorious work in the fights against the Sikhs during the time of Taimur Shah. He praised me excessively. Zabita Khan, on hearing this, was pleased.

Ahmad Shah returned to Kabul. I took leave for a few days and came to my house. God granted me a son at this time. I named him Muhammad Yar Khan (1767).

After a few months Zabita Khan took me into his service. Samad Khan felt very aggrieved. He began to use harsh words against me. On Zabita Khan asking me to speak sternly to Samad Khan, I said "I have been in his company for seven years. I will keep quiet, no matter what he says."

After a time Samad Khan softened in his attitude to me.

My two sons Allah Yar Khan and Saadat Yar Khan were now (1769) ten and seven years of age respectively. I gave them training in the use of swords, guns, and other arts required of a soldier. I also looked after their studies.

After a few days Zabita Khan appointed me as superintendent of the Diwan Khana, to which were added, later, establishments such as Farash Khana, Shutar Khana and others.

I had appointed a learned Maulavi Abdul Gani by name to teach my children. He was a selfless man. I cannot praise him adequately.

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

Najib Khan at Hansi :

After two months Najib Khan moved towards Hansi and Hissar. At this time Najib Khan was ill. He had been troubled by disease for the last few years. Wisely and foresightedly he assembled his chiefs and said to them " I have now appointed Zabita Khan as my successor and deputy. You should pay him the same respect and show the same devotion which you showed to me."

Najib Khan then returned towards Delhi (15th October 1769). From there he returned to Najibabad.

All authority now devowed on Zabita Khan. He had the full control of his territory and army. He asked me to raise an additional contingent of forty horsemen. I accordingly made a search for Mughals and raised the contingent. I was also advanced money by Zabita Khan wherewith I purchased horses and equipped the footsoldiers with horses. In this way one hundred cavalry was raised by me.

Maratha advance (1770 *A. D.*)

At this time Ramchandra Ganesh, Tukoji Holkar and Sindhia Patel had advanced with a Maratha army of two lakh towards the Jat country and had started devastating it. At this time, Jawahar Singh, the son of Surajmal, who was a man of determination died (August 1768). Another son of Surajmal, Nawal Singh by name, succeeded him. As he was instigated by his brothers, he fought against the Marathas (4-6 April, 1770). He suffered a disastrous defeat and retired to his forts, where he made a firm stand.

On hearing of this news Najib Khan wrote to Zabita Khan as follows "I have made you my deputy and entrusted the army and all administration to you. Now that the Marathas have come, it is necessary for me to meet them, because you do not know how to deal with these barbarians." Najib Khan made all preparations and having called his army from Najibabad marched towards the Marathas. He reached Koil (Agharh) in a few days (April 1770). He opened friendly overtures and met the Maratha chiefs. He stayed for a few months with the Marathas, strengthening his relations with them.

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

The Author.

During this period I was in constant attendance of Zabita Khan. I had practically no time to see my family (at Najibabad). For this reason I married the daughter of a Kabuli Mughal. Before this event a son had been born in my family. I named him Khuda Yar Khan (1770).

Death of Najib Khan.

The illness of Najib Khan worsened. For this reason he called Zabita Khan hurriedly and summoning the three Maratha chiefs, he placed the hand of Zabita Khan in their hands. He then left the Marathas and arrived at Hapur (October 1770) and camped there.

Zabita Khan who was in the Maratha Camp sent for all his equipment and baggage. The day his equipment reached his camp, Zabita Khan received the news that Najib Khan was dead (31st October 1770). The Maratha chiefs offered condolences and presented robes to Zabita Khan with all the required formalities.

After a few days, Sindhia Patel sent word to Zabita Khan asking for succession fees for installing Zabita Khan in place of his father. To this Zabita Khan gave a harsh reply. This was not suitable to the circumstances in which Zabita Khan was placed.

Zabita Khan's reply angered the Marathas. Sindhia Patel brought Ramchandra Ganesh to his line of thinking, while Tukoji Holkar, to outward appearances, remained with Zabita Khan.

After a few days,correspondence started between the Emperor, who was at Allahabad, and Sindhia. The Emperor sent a robe of honour to Zabita Khan and wrote to him as follows "If you arrive here with your army we can start for Delhi where I will occupy the throne and you can carry on the administration as before. "

Zabita Khan did not receive the messenger who brought the robes, well. He used harsh words which were not proper. The messenger returned and reported the conversation to the Emperor.

After this the Emperor Shah Alam wrote to the Maratha

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

chiefs Sindhia Patel and Ramchandra Ganesh, asking them to take control of Delhi. He himself would then move to the capital.

On receiving this communication, the Sindhia accompanied by Ramchandra Ganesh, advanced from Farrukhabad to Mathura.

Marathas take Delhi (9 *February* 1771)

From Mathura, the Marathas marched quickly on Delhi. They reached it in two days. They took possession of Delhi and in a few days were masters of the fort as well (9 February 1771).

When this news reached Zabita Khan, he said to Tukoji Holkar " I was free from all worries because of your support. How has this (capture of Delhi) come to pass ? "

Tukoji said "As this is a matter pertaining to the Emperor, it is only proper that you move to Shukratal and stay there for two months, taking all precautions. I will escort you upto Miranpur. I will then correspond with the Maratha Government in the Deccan. I will make Ramchandra Ganesh to come to your side and restore your affairs." With this cunningness Tukoji escorted Zabita Khan to Miranpur. He then left him and went to Delhi.

Basant Khan brought his family out of the fort. I too brought my family from Aligarh and sent them to Najibabad.

The Marathas started administering the entire territory. Zabita Khan entered Shukratal and started preparing its defences. Shujauddowlah and Hafiz Rahmat Khan wrote to him to say that they would march to his help.

In short, a year and a few months passed. The Emperor left Allahabad and reached Delhi (Six January 1772). Zabita Khan was in correspondence with the Afghan (Rohila) chiefs. But the chiefs would not agree to his proposal. In the beginning Zabita Khan was inclined to compromise but his colleagues advised against any compromise.

The Author.

I was now the master of two hundred Mughal horsemen (1772). At this time I got my eldest daughter Mah Khanam

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

married to Iwaz Badal Beg, the son of my adopted sister. The marriage expenses came to four thousand Rupees.

Meanwhile Zabita Khan's confidence in me increased. I was in constant attendance of Zabita Khan. I was also deputed, once, to bring the treasure from Najaf Gad. The Thanas of Meerath District had spread from a place twenty Kos distant from Shukratal upto the town of Mankabir. The Marathas had raised disturbances everywhere. Our army began to suffer from high prices of grain. Zabita Khan sent word to the Gujar chief to overpower the Thanas (in the possession of the Marathas). He made excuses. With the permission of the Nawab, I took sixty horsemen with me and fell upon the Thana. The officer in charge of the Thana came out with fifty horsemen and three hundred infantry to fight with me. We defeated him. We captured him and his troops as also his horses and three hundred guns. We brought them to Zabita Khan. He was much pleased. He gave us a reward of three hundred Rupees. He also allowed us to take away the equipment which we had plundered from the enemy.

Emperor Shah Alam against Zabita Khan.

The Emperor Shah Alam accompanied by a Maratha army left Delhi to punish Zabita Khan (January 1772). Shah Alam marched by way of Jalalabad, and Ghaus Garh, towards the river Ganges. The Maratha army got ready to cross the river. On hearing this, Zabita Khan assembled his troops on the banks of the Ganges for its length from the hills to Shukratal. In this army were many notable Afghan (Rohila) chiefs including his uncle Afzal Khan.

Zabita Khan himself stayed on at Shukratal in the hope of the promised assistance of the Rohila chiefs, Hafiz Rahmat Khan and others. The Rohila chief Faizullah Khan (Son of Ali Muhammad Khan Rohila) and his Khanesaman, accompanied by an army of five to six thousand, arrived at the opposite bank of the Ganges facing Shukratal and camped there. Zabita Khan had thrown two boat bridges on the Ganges at this place. Zabita Khan met Faizullah Khan who informed him that in a few days Hafiz Khan would arrive with one lakh Afghan army,

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

and that Zabita Khan should be easy of mind on that score.

That very day my horsemen had gone for scouting. When it was still four Gharis left for sunset, they brought the news that the Mughal army accompanied by the Maratha army had crossed the river at Chandi Ghat (23 February 1772) and that Afzal Khan and his Afghan army was on the run towards Najibabad.

On hearing this news Zabita Khan crossed the river and met the Rohila chiefs Faizullah Khan and his Khanesaman. He said " The Mughal army has crossed the river. Our Afghan army has been shattered. If you cross the Ganges and join me at Shukratal, it will be a source of strength to me. Meanwhile help will arrive from the Afghans. We will then consider how best we can handle the situation through war or peace.

The Rohila chiefs Faizullah Khan and his Khanesaman would not agree. They said " Our homelands are bare of defences. The Marathas will spread there and sack our homes. "

In short, these chiefs fled away the same night. Zabita Khan stayed for some time at the bridge. He sent messengers to his uncle Sultan Khan informing him of what had occurred. I was present. Thinking that I would be sent to convey the message, I went to my colleagues and got them to be ready to go wherever they were to be sent.

When I came to the Bazar with my companions, the news of the flight (of Zabita Khan) had spread. People were setting fire to the camp and fleeing away. My Colleagues said to me " The army is engaged in fight. You are taking us by sweet words to some other place. This is not just. If you permit us we will plunder the Bazar." I said to them " For God's sake, never do such a thing. This would be disreputable and improper. When Mansur Ali Khan (Safdar Jung) was engaged in fight, the Mughal troops plundered his equipment. Due to this, they earned a bad name. In the battle of Buxar, in which Shujaud-daulah was engaged, the treasure of the army fell into the hands of the Mughals. They plundered it. Their shameful act is still on the lips of everybody. The Afghans are against us. Our acts will rankle in their minds. They will never trust us again."

With these arguments I made them understand the foolishness of their proposal and prevented them from carrying it into

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

action. I then took them to Zabita Khan. I said to him "There is no road open towards Najibabad. Where would you like to go ?"

He said "Wherever God takes me." I said "I have two hundred horsemen with me. God willing, I will escort you safely to Najibabad."

As Zabita Khan was extremely frightened he did not accept my proposal. He had about forty horsemen with him. He got down from his horse and took his seat on an elephant. I felt that he was afraid of me. I therefore took my companions aside and left the place. Zabita Khan quickened the speed of his elephant and went away.

I took my horsemen with me and riding all night, I covered a distance of twenty Kos. When dawn broke, we saw many Afghan horsemen and troopers running away. When they saw us they started abusing.

The Marathas and the Mughal army laid siege to Pathar Garh and captured it (16 March 1772). I joined the services of Zulfiqaruddaulah (Najaf Khan) along with eighty horsemen.

Pathar Garh was evacuated by the Imperial army, after two months. It then moved towards Muradabad. After staying in that district for a few days, the army returned towards the Ganges, which it crossed at the Ghat of Puth (End of May 1772).

The Marathas marched against Khurjah, a Jat post. I accompanied Najaf Quli Khan to Khurjah. The fight went on for two months when the fort surrendered (30 July 1772).

But in this employment which lasted for seven months, I suffered a great deal of financial distress. They used to pay a mothly salary of one Rupee per horse to us and that too with great difficulty.

After a few days I returned to Delhi.

Marathas against Najab Khan :

The Emperor bestowed the Parganhas of Panipat, Sonepat and others on Zulfiqaraddaulah Bhahadur (Najaf Khan). I was posted to the fort of Sonepat. I and my horsemen received our pay for four months. However meagre it was, it relieved us of

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

our financial worries to some extent.

During this time, news was received that the Marathas desired that the post of Bakhshi (Paymaster General) be given to Zabita Khan; and he be appointed as Fauzdar of the district of Saharanpur, and that the Emperor had agreed to the proposal of the Marathas. Zabita Khan had also gone to the Maratha Camp and had agreed to their terms. The Marathas then marched and camped near Delhi. (21st November 1772).

On this side Najaf Khan Zulfiqaruddaulah made ready for an armed conflict with the Marathas. We were also summoned. We marched immediately and arrived at Delhi. War preparations were afoot in the city. Zulfiqaruddaulah (Najaf Khan) had raised an army of seven to eight thousand cavalry and infantry. They were strong and handsome. They had good horses. They had all been raised in India. I wondeıed from where they could have come.

In the end the army marched out one Kos from the city. Skirmishes between the advance parties started (7 December 1772). Najaf Khan used to ride out every day and take his stand beneath the old fort. The Marathas too would come out and fight.

17*th December* 1772

One day the entire Maratha army came out to attack. A hot fight raged between the contestants. The Maratha army was numerous. They attacked from all sides. Our army could not make a stand. It fled from the field. The Marathas boldly pursued the fleeing army and entered the city. In the chowk Saadullah, they started plundering the neighbourhood. But Zulfiqarddaulah Najaf Khan was a brave man. Accompanied by two hundred Mughal horsemen, and two regiments of the Imperial army he firmly stood his ground. When it was afternoon, the Maratha army advanced continuously. In the fight Mirza Hasan, Najaf Khan's sister's son received a bullet wound. He was sent to the old fort. The regiments too fled and took refuge beneath the old fort. At this time hardly sixty or seventy horsemen remained with Najaf Khan. I was present with him. With great difficulty, Najaf Khan was persuaded to move near the old fort. A great battle

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

then took place which raged till sunset. The Marathas then retired.

My son who was fifteen years old received three wounds from the spear. I was searching for him. I learnt that he had walked on foot to the old fort. When four Gharis of night had passed, Mirza Hasan was brought out of the old fort. Najaf Khan said to me "You too get your son out of the old fort. Carry him to the city and look after his wounds." I did accordingly. I got my son with all care and caution to our house in the city. Next day I started resuming my duties. Najaf Khan started strengthening the defences of the city. But Husamuddin who was hostile to Najaf Khan went to the Emperor. He persuaded him to make peace with the Marathas. It was also decided to expel Najaf Khan and the Mughalia troops from the city.

The Emperor and the Marathas now began to take strong measures to expel Najaf Khan and his Mughal troops. Najaf Khan called his Mughal chiefs from their posts. They all arrived within a week. Among Najaf Khan's troops all the sections, namely Mughals, Turanis and Iranis had joined hands. The Turani chiefs Badal Beg Khan, Qasim Khan and Niaz Beg Khan all advised Najaf Khan to put up a fight, come what may.

Najaf Khan joins the Marathas

When the Marathas heard of the determination of Najaf Khan, they opened peace parleys with him. They wanted him to join them in their march against Shujauddaulah (January 1773). They also agreed to pay him three thousand Rupees daily as the pay for his contingent.

Najaf Khan met the Marathas. The terms having been agreed to, he moved out of Delhi. Najaf Khan and the Marathas then moved towards Ramghat (2nd February 1773).

Zabita Khan had been appointed the Bakshi and the Fauzdar of Saharanpur. He sent messengers to me continuously for two or three days asking me to join his services.

The Author re-enters Zabita Khan's Service

I spoke about Zabita Khan's message to Najaf Khan. As he

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

was in his own worries he did not pay any heed to me. My friends said "The Marathas know that you were intimately connected with Zabita Khan. If you do not go to Zabita Khan you will probably be carried by force. Your honour lies in voluntarily joining the service of Zabita Khan. Finding no alternative I went out with twenty five horsemen to see Zabita Khan. Zabita Khan received me kindly. He appointed me to my old post. Each horseman of mine was paid at the rate of four annas per day.

In a few days, our army marching with the Marathas, reached Ramghat (15th February 1773). The Turani captains who were with the Marathas persuaded me to join them by saying that they would get a daily allowance of eight annas or one Rupee fixed by the Marathas for each of my horsemen. I said "This may be profitable but I will not agree. This will shake the confidence of Zabita Khan in me." However, I was in great monetary difficulties, due to the meagre allowance which I was receiving.

Marathas in Rohilkhand.

Shujauddaulah arrived from the opposite direction (19th of March 1773). Zabita Khan went and brought Hafiz Rahmat Khan from Bareilly. In the meanwhile Tukoji Holkar, with sixty thousand troops, crossed the Ganges. Ahmad Khan, the Bakhshi of Ali Muhammad Khan who had advanced to a distance of ten Kos ahead of Hafiz Rahmat Khan, was defeated and captured by the Marathas. The Marathas received the news that the Afghans and Shujauddaulah had joined hands and that Shujauddaulah's forces were likely to arrive the next day. Najaf Khan was with the Marathas. Zabita Khan deputed his cousin to the Marathas. I too was deputed to accompany the Marathas.

Within two or three days, the Marathas plundered Muradabad and Sambhal (20-25 March 1773) and recrossed the Ganges at Puth where a bridge of boats had been thrown by them.

The Marathas camped at the village of Bahar. On the other side of the Ganges, Shujauddaulah, Hafiz Rahmat Khan and the English set up their camps.

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

After a few days, peace was made between the two parties and the Marathas started moving towards the Deccan (May 1773). After a few stages they gave leave to Najaf Khan. After two days, Zabita Khan too took leave of the Marathas. He called on Shujauddaulah and then returned in a few days to Najibabad. He remained for five or six days at Najibabad and then crossing the Ganges came to Saharanpur. For eight or nine months he was busy realizing dues and establishing his administration in that district.

Najaf Khan.

On taking leave of the Marathas, Najaf Khan returned to Delhi (20th May 1773). At that time Husamuddin Khan was in the confidence of the Emperor. He closed the city gates and sent word to Najaf Khan that the Mughals were not to be allowed entry into the city. But Najaf Khan attacked the city from the side of Raj Ghat and forcing his way, occupied his residence.

The Emperor imprisoned Husamuddin Khan and handed him over to Najaf Khan. In the place of Husamuddin, the Emperor appointed Abdul Ahmad Khan as the deputy Prime Minister. Najaf Khan (Zulfiqaruddaulah) was a brave man. He now decided to conquer the Jat country. He started laying his hands on their district.

Najaf Khan and the Jats (September 1773) :

When the news of Najaf Khan's agression on the Jat territory reached Nawal Singh, the Jat Rajah came out with a large army which included the Gosais and the trained battalians of Samru.

For a few days skirmishes took place between the advance detachments of the contestants. The Mughal army was starved for want of pay. It subsisted by plundering the grain harvest in the countryside. But it fought bravely against the Jats.

Nawal Singh wrote to Zabita Khan asking for his assistance. Najaf Khan too wrote to Zabita Khan. Abdul Ahad Khan sent the Royal orders to Zabita Khan to repair to the capital quickly and receive afresh the robes of the Bakhshi's office. Zabita Khan,

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

accordingly, reached Delhi and received his robes from the Emperor.

The same day (30th October 1773) news was received that Najaf Khan had attacked Nawal Singh's army in the plain of Barsana. Elephants, some cannons and considerable plunder fell into the hands of the Mughal army, which now was fed and affluent.

Nawal Singh fled from the field and took up his position among his forts which he strengthened. Noticing that the forts were strong, well provisioned and well defended, Najaf Khan did not think it proper to march against them. Instead, he decided to capture Agra.

Najaf Khan captures Agra (18*th February* 1774)

He attacked Agra and occupied it. He then invested the fort and bombarded its walls. In a few days he had captured it.

As Najaf Khan's victory came to be known, all the refractory elements in the region submitted to him.

The Sikhs :

At this time the Sikhs found their opportunity. They invaded Meerath and Saharanpur and plundered the territory. Zabita Khan took leave of the Emperor and went towards Meerath to establish order. He then went to Gaus Garh.

The Author :

At this time I composed a grammar of the Turkish Language. There was a Mughal, Haji Muhammad by name, a resident of Tabriz whom I knew. He taught the Turkish language to my children. I prepared the Turkish grammar, explaining Turkish words in Persian. With this training, my sons Allah Yar Khan and Saadat Yar Khan began to write (Turkish) well. Through my book they picked up the Turkish language.

Shujauddaulah

Shujauddaulah wrote a letter tempting Zabita Khan with offers of territory and other considerations and invited him to

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

join him. Zabita Khan held consultations with his chiefs. He received permission from his uncles Afzal Khan, Sultan Khan and Aman Khan. He left his army at Ghaus Garh and moved with a limited number of followers towards Najibabad. He raised army equipment at Najibabad and after a few days marched towards Basoli. At Aonla, the sons of Dunde Khan met him. Hafiz Rahmat Khan met him at Bareilly. They held consultations amongst themselves and then crossed the river Ganges.

The Author

I had prepared a grammar of the Turkish language. It struck me that if I could write my autobiography in the Turkish language, it would bring out as illustration many points mentioned in the grammar. Besides, the story of my life would also be recorded. I therefore used to write down my story every day, while on march or in camp. My sons too assisted me in writing the work.

Movements of Shujauddaulah

In short, I reached Kasganj where Shujauddaulah was camping. Zabita Khan too arrived and camped there. A meeting took place between Zabita Khan and Shujauddaulah (March 1774).

It was however learnt that Shujauddaulah was inwardly displeased with Zabita Khan. He had learnt from his spies that Zabita Khan had taken oaths of friendships with the Rohila chiefs. But Shujauddaulah, clever and experienced as he was, never uttered a single word about this. On the other hand, he kept Zabita Khan pleased and satisfied.

Fighting now broke out between Shujauddaulah and Hafiz Rahmat Khan. Shujauddaulah marched from Kasganj and reached Mahdi Ghat. The Afghans everywhere tauntingly said that Shujauddaulah was afraid of the Afghans and was returning to his country.

Shujauddaulah crossed the river at Mahdi Ghat and marched towards Shajahanpur, the home of the Afghans. It was then that the eyes of all were opened. Hafiz Rahmat Khan too marched

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

from his home and arriving at a distance of four Kos, camped on the banks of a river (April 1774). Hafiz Rahmat Khan sent some Sayyads and scholars with a copy of the Quran to Zabita Khan for the purpose of the latter's intercession with Shujauddaulah. Shujauddaulah replied " I have often gone to the assistance of of the Afghans. I was friendly to them. But they have not showed any friendship. I undertook the payment of money to the Marathas on behalf of the Afghans. Hafiz Rahmat Khan and other chiefs swore on the Quran to repay the money. But they have not stuck to their oaths and sealed agreements. I still have the Quran with their seals on it with me. Why do I require another copy of the Quran ? "

Zabita Khan tried to persuade him with soft words. Shujauddaulah did not agree. He marched out to fight.

Battle of Miranpur Katra (*23rd April* 1774).

Next day (23rd April 1774) Shujauddaulah marched and came to a place, three Kos distant from the camp of Hafiz Rahmat Khan. He sent the English regiments in advance. They had no equals in quick firing. His Khwajah Sara, Latafat Ali Khan, with two regiments, joined the English. He moved ahead and arrived near the Afghans. The enemy was defeated. A few among those who advanced fighting desperately escaped from the firing guns. Hafiz Rahmat Khan who had boldly advanced died without receiving any wound. In the twinkling of an eye, the army of forty thousand Afghans was defeated. Murtaza Khan Bahrich cut the head of Hafiz Rahmat Khan and presented it to Shujauddaulah. The latter sent it to Zabita Khan. He then ordered the camp to be set up on the battlefield. I saw with my own eyes that many men and horses had lost their limbs as a result of artillery fire. The body of Hafiz Rahmat Khan was lying uncared for on the battle field. There were no marks of wounds on the body. Many people said that bullets must have passed very near his body. Affected by their heat he must have died. Some said that, seeing that the Afghans had been defeated and no hope was left, he must have swallowed poison.

After the battle, the victorious army marched to Pilibhit, taking all property found in the city and the fort. Then it

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

came to Bareilly, in a few days, it occupied the surrounding territory, and confiscated the property of the Afghans. The wives and children of Hafiz Rahmat Khan and Doonde Khan were sent to Lucknow.

Fortunately for the Afghans, Najaf Khan had, after the occupation of Agra, arrived at Basuli, at the invitation of Shuja-uddaulah. Many Afghans and their chiefs went to him. He entertained them in his service. Thousands of other horses were branded (as mark of service) and entered in his army. The Afghans with their wives and children found safety and security in his camp. Shujauddaulah said to Mirza Najaf Khan " These Afghans are treacherous, and faithless. They have entered into your service as they have no alternative left. They still have thousands of Rupees worth property left with them. Do not place trust in them. It is better to destroy them. "

But Najaf Khan did not agree. He took them with him and crossed the Ganges. He employed such among those who wanted to serve. The rest he sent away along with their families to places where they desired to go.

Shujauddaulah had promised territories and other considerations to Zabita Khan. On Zabita Khan's request to fulfil his promise, Shujauddaulah flatly refused to do so. He said, "While coming here, you intrigued with the Afghan chiefs and secretly allied yourself with them. I know all this."

Zabita Khan was disappointed. He took leave of Shuja-uddaulah, and in company with Najaf Khan, returned to Delhi (12 June 1774). Zabita Khan saw the Emperor and then took up his residence in the garden of Qudsia Begam.

The author leaves Zabita Khan.

A few days passed. One day Zabita Khan was having his meals in the cellar of his palace. Myself and two other persons were sitting on the carpet nearby. At this time one Afghan officer of Zabita Khan, Halim Khan by name entered. He started abusing the Mughals severely. I said to him "The Mughals and the Afghans are brothers. If for the sake of position and kingdom they fight amongst themselves there is nothing objectionable. It is like a quarrel between brothers. Why do you

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

indulge in such loose talk?" He said, "Had I the power I would not have left a single Mughal alive in Hindustan."

I too said "Do whatever you will, you cannot change destiny." In the end we got up to fight it out. The person who was present there, Sarmast Khan by name, interfered and separated us. Zabita Khan heard of this affray. He however kept quiet.

A few days following the above incident, I was sent by Zabita Khan to enquire after the health of Najaf Khan. After one Prahar, I was announced. I conveyed the message of Zabita Khan to Najaf Khan. At that time Ali Muhammad Khan, the agent of Zabita Khan was present. I said to Najaf Khan "Zabita Khan is the Mir Bakshi (Paymaster General). He is also the son of a nobleman. It is not proper that we should be kept waiting while others have interview with you."

On hearing my words Najaf Khan smiled. He embraced me and turning to the superintendent of the audience chamber, said "Whenever Tahmas Beg Khan Bahadur arrives, there should be no delay in bringing him in."

Ali Muhammad Khan heard these words. He repeated them in the presence of Zabita Khan and said to him "Tahmas Beg Khan seems to be in the confidence of Najaf Khan, as he is a Mughal."

On hearing these words Zabita Khan was reminded of the affray which had taken place between Halim Khan and myself. Zabita Khan became displeased with me. My men used to receive a daily allowance of eight to ten annas. I used to receive two Rupees daily. These allowances were now stopped. When I spoke to Zabita Khan, he promised to look into it. But for two months nothing came out. I once again said to Zabita Khan "Owing to the non-receipt of allowance, my men are leaving. I do not know the cause of your indifference." He sent men with me to the Bakhsi to instruct that our services be dispensed with. This was carried out. The Mughals wanted to clamour for the arrears of pay but I prohibited them from doing so.

I then went to Najaf Khan and told him of our dismissal.

The author in the service of Najaf Khan

Najaf Khan immediately took us in his employment. Next day,

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

I took my sons Allah Yar Khan and Saadat Yar Khan and my other men and fixed them in the service of Najaf Khan. But our financial worries were very great.

Shujauddaulah

At this time Shujauddaulah who was camping at Basuli, heard that after the battle with Hafiz Rahmat Khan, Faizullah Khan the Rohila chief had, along with fifty to sixty thousand Afghans, taken refuge at Laldang. On hearing this news Shujauddaulah marched to Laldang and surrounded the Afghans (30th September 1774). Shujauddaulah wrote to Najaf Khan to send an army towards Haradwar as the Afghans were receiving provisions from that side. These provisions were to be stopped from reaching the Afghan camp.

On receiving this communication, Najaf Khan sent Afrasiab Khan with a few thousand soldiers. My sons too, accompanied the army. I remained in Delhi.

The Author's affairs.

I was trying to get my son Allah Yar Khan married. Rustum Beg, a Mughal brought me news that one Murad Beg Khan, who hailed from Azer Baijan was agreeable to give his daughter in marriage, but on condition that I would give my daughter in marriage to his son. The engagement ceremony was performed. I had to borrow four hundred Rupees from Niyaz Beg Khan and two hundred Rupees from Badal Beg Khan. I thus spent nine hundred Rupees on the ceremony.

The Ruhela war

In the meanwhile Afrasiab Khan, who had been sent by Najaf Khan had reached Haradwar and had stopped provision from reaching the Ruhelas. Faizullah Khan, the Ruhela chief was pressed hard. Through the mediation of the English he came to terms with Shujauddaulah. The latter restored to him his district of Rampur (7th October 1774). Shujauddaulah then left for his province. Afrasiab Khan returned to Delhi.

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

money with me. By God's grace I raised some loan from the Mughals and borrowed provisions from the shops and performed the marriage ceremony.

I was in search of a bride for my son. There was a Jamadar, Tahmas Khan by name, in the Risala of Qasim Khan. I got his daughter married to my son Allah Yar Khan.

After this, I took leave of Najaf Khan and went, accompanied by two horsemen to Mursan, where Afiasiab Khan was camping. I spoke to him about his handing over the Jagir to Zulfi Sultan. After two or three days he fixed the Jagir again in my name for a sum of forty thousand Rupees. He also bestowed on me a palanquain. I then went to my charge.

Rebellion of Zabita Khan :

Meanwhile news was received that Zabita Khan had, with a strong army and a contingent of eight thousand Sikhs, arrived at Delhi and through the mediation of Najaf Khan met the Emperor (13th to 17th April 1777). Districts such as Meerath and others which had been farmed out to him formed the subject of discussions between the parties. Zabita Khan created difficulties in paying the dues for the districts. As he had come to see the Emperor through the intercession of Najaf Khan, Zabita Khan was allowed to return to his camp. His Sikh allies fled away. Zabita Khan marched in the middle of night towards Gausgarh. He declared himself a rebel. The negotiations could have been successful for a sum of forty or fifty thousand Rupees. But the uncles and other chiefs of Zabita Khan who had grown proud of their armies and wealth, refused to accept the terms. They said " What are these Imperial army and the Mughalia Contingents? We have thirty thousand Afghans and ten thousand Sikhs with us. If a fight breaks out we are sure to win." Zabita Khan said to them "If I have to rebel against the Emperor, I would require considerable money. I have nothing with me at present. How can we rebel ? " The chiefs said "We can provide upto seven lakhs of Rupees. It is better to have a fight with the Mughals, and impress them with our prowess? "

Counting on their support Zabita Khan prepared for a fight and broke out into open rebellion. I heard the story from Zabita

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

Fall of Aligarh (*April* 1775)

After three months Afrasiab Khan came to Saadabad. I went and saw him. We camped at a village Jawar, eighteen Kos distant from Koil (Aligarh). The fort of Koil had been constructed by Sabit Khan. He had named it Sabitgarh. When Surajmal Jat occupied it he named it Ramgarh. He had strengthened its defences. Afrasiab Khan, with a view to reduce it, marched against the fort. The siege lasted for a few months. Negotiations then started. The garrison too found itself helpless. A few thousand Rupees were paid to the garrison which evacuated the fort. Afrasiab Khan entered the fort and occupied it (April 1775). In honour of this event Afrasiab Khan gave a feast to his officers. He named the fort Aligarh.

A day or two later, letters were received from Najaf Khan to the following effect. "Najaf Quli Khan has, with great gallantry, wrested the fort of Kama belonging to the Rajah of Jaipur. The Rajputs, Marathas and Jats have gathered. They have been joined by Mulla Rahim Dad Khan Afghan. They are all contemplating an attack on Najaf Quli Khan. You should therefore march with all possible force to the assistance of Najaf Quli Khan."

On receipt of these communications Afrasiab Khan marched from Aligarh and in two stages reached the Shergarh Ghat of the Jumna river. The same day I crossed the river. Afrasiab Khan noticed my action. He ordered his army to cross the river. He was told that it was evening and that the troops would cross the next day. He praised my crossing of the river the same evening.

When I got to the other bank of the river I came across an Afghan Mulla serving with Rahimdad Khan's contingent on the side of the Jats. He told me that about a lakh and fifty thousand Jats, Rajputs and Mulla Rahim Dad Khan's men had collected and were getting ready to fight. The small army of Afrasiab Khan and Najaf Quli Khan might not be able to make a stand against them. He taught me to recite a prayer every day, seven times after each daily prayers, as it would save me from danger. I agreed.

Next day Afrasiab's army crossed the river.

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

Afrasiab Khan joins Najaf Quli Khan :

The army camped for the night. Next day it marched ten Kos with great caution as the fort of Dig lay nearby. When it encamped, men who had received orders to do patrolling, seemed unwilling as they pleaded the exertions of marching. I with my companions did the work of patrolling round the camp.

From there the army moved and reached Kama. Najaf Quli Khan came out to receive the army. He instructed me and Murtaza Sultan to be on the right wing of his army to a distance of two Kos on the way to Dig. We had traversed a few Kos when five to six thousand Marathas appeared. After a short skirmish they retreated. The armies of Najaf Quli Khan and Afrasiab Khan joined each other. Afrasiab Khan had an army of ten thousand horse and foot.

Muradbeg, between whose children and mine engagements of marriage had taken place, was an associate of Najaf Quli Khan. He entertained me.

After five or six days, scouts brought the news that the Jat army was marching on us.

Operations against the Jats (18*th May* 1775).

As soon as we heard the news, the call to arms was given. I and my companions immediately mounted our horses and rode to a stone hillock. The soldiers of our army began to ride past us. I told them that in the absence of the general, it was not proper to go ahead. No one would listen to me. About three thousand soldiers passed me. On seeing this, I unwillingly followed them. Between the two hills there was a ravine two Kos long and half a mile broad. When I reached the mouth of the ravine, I saw that about thirty to forty thousand Marathas, Jats, Rajputs and Afghans were arranged against us. Our troops were firing at them from a distance. I went and joined our army. The fight continued till one Prahar remained to sunset. The Marathas and Rajputs were advancing slowly. They arrived near on our side. We got ready to fight. We were only a spear's length from the Marathas and others. I stopped at that place

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

as my two sons were also standing by my side. When I looked back I noticed that our army was running away. I then said to my sons " This is not the time to stand here. You too retire." When my sons had proceeded to a distance, I too retired. The Marathas were following us. Our soldiers were fleeing. Two lines of our army were in the plains between the two hills, while one was at the foot of the hills. As I was behind the line which was in the middle, I and my colleagues escaped without any injury. The Marathas and Rajputs had also formed into three lines and were advancing and pursuing us. About one thousand persons were killed or wounded. Many horses were wounded. After retreating for a Kos, we became ashamed of ourselves and turned to face the enemy. Seeing this the enemy retreated. I returned. But after a shortwhile I turned again to make a stand, as the enemy reappeared. I advanced about half a mile. Meanwhile Abdurrahman, my adopted son, a Maratha from our army and Muhamad Beg Khan Jamadar came and joined us. In this way eight persons were with me. Our soldiers who had run away and not one of whom came to our assistance were seeing from a distance, how we, few in numbers as we were, made the enemy retire to the place which we had left. In the evening the enemy left the field. We too returned to our camp. I saw that Afrasiab Khan and Najaf Quli Khan were seated on elphants and were in a state of preparedness. The soldiers who had fled from the battle, as also the messengers had conveyed news of the battle to them. I went and paid my respects to them. I told them about the battle. They praised me much and said, "How we wish we had heard from you the news of the battle earlier? We would have moved to your assistance". Very few people knew me or cared for me till now. But due to my exertions in this battle, I impressed everybody. My prestige and status increased immensly. The news of my bravery and coolheadedness was conveyed to Najaf Khan who too was much impressed.

Najaf Khan arrives at Kama.

Najaf Khan had fallen ill. He however recovered, and although still weak, arrived at Kama to join his army (May

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

1775). Afrasiab Khan and Najaf Quli Khan received him. Najaf Khan was all praise for me. He bestowed the gift of a gown on me and shawls on my two sons.

Meanwhile peace talks were in progress with the enemy. The enemy agents who visited Najaf Khan were all praise for my bravery on the day of the battle. This made Najaf Khan all the more kind and considerate to me. But the peace talks did not yield any fruit.

A few days previous to this, Shujauddaulah had died (26 January 1775). He had sent two or three battalions to the assistance of Najaf Khan. These were now recalled by Shujauddaullah's successor Asafaddaulah. They accordingly marched away. Najaf Khan had marched to a distance of six or seven Kos from Dig. Skirmishes with the advance parties of the contestants were taking place. With the departure of the Oudh battalions, Najaf Khan marched back twelve Kos towards Sikri. The army was starving for want of pay. It plundered villages round about and supported itself. Najaf Khan then marched further towards Barsana where he camped. From there his army units raided the surrounding territory. Najaf Khan too would go out two or three Kos from the camp accompanied sometimes by one hundred or sometimes by fifty horsemen. Although his treasury was empty, Najaf Khan used to have all solicitude and consideration for his army, and granted their wishes to the best of his ability.

The fighting with the Jats lasted a few months.

War with the Jats :

One day Afrasiab Khan and Muhammad Beg Hamdani had gone to put down the Jat raiding parties. They had proceeded three or four Kos, from the camp. When they were returning, about forty thousand troops of the enemy appeared on the right wing. Fighting took place near a village four miles distance from the camp. There were two thousand troops with Afrasiab Khan and Muhammad Beg Hamdani. Of these, hardly five hundred must have remained with them. When Mulla Rahim Dad Khan and his Ruhelas and the Jat army attacked them. Afrasiab Khan got ready to face them. In the meanwhile Najaf Khan rushed troops

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

to his assistance. The enemy was beaten and forced to retreat. The enemy got the impression that Najaf Khan's strength lay in his artillery and disciplined battalions. He could not withstand the enemy when equipped with conventional weapons. Najaf Khan heard this news.

Battle of Govardhan (10 *June* 1775)

One day (10th June 1775) the Jats proceeded on a pilgrimage to the holy city of Govardhan. On hearing this news Najaf Khan went forth to attack them. The Frenchman Madec accompanied by two battalions arrived within two Kos of Dig. Najaf Khan turned towards Govardhan. At that time Madec sent a message urgently asking for help. Najaf Khan immediately sent Afrasiab Khan to the help of Madec. The Marathas, Jats, Ruhelas and the Rajputs had started the attack with a force of thirty thousand that day. Afrasiab Khan fought very gallantly. The enemy unable to resist him, broke and fled. Afrasiab Khan stood his ground. I went ahead and found that the enemy troops were standing a mile away. I followed them boldly for two Kos, at the time when our soldiers were returning. After a while my son Saadat Yar Khan, and my adopted son Abdurrahaman joined me. I found about fifty horsemen of the enemy on the way. Our troops fell on them and destroying them seized their horses. I marched ahead after the retiring enemy. This news reached Afrasiab Khan. When I returned to the camp, Afrasiab Khan from his horseback put his arms round me and kissed me on the brow. He was all praises for me. Marching four Kos he met Najaf Khan to whom he spoke in detail about my bravery. Najaf Khan was much pleased with this news. I gained greatly in prestige.

Najaf Khan too defeated the enemy near Govardhan. They captured a number of horses and camels and other material and returned at night to the main camp.

From that day the Rajputs and Marathas abandoned the Jats.

As the rainy season was now near at hand, Najaf Khan's army, starving as it was for want of pay, began to desert in numbers. I too received little pay since the battle at Guhanar (and Govardhan).

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

When the rainy season was nearing its end, Najaf Khan started recruiting men again for the army. Soldiers flocked from all sides to his camp.

Najaf Khan moved from Barsana to Govardhan which is at a distance of three or four Kos from Dig. He used to march upto Dig but the Jats or Ruhelas would not come out of the fort.

My affairs

Afrasiab Khan was increasingly kind to me. Najaf Khan showed me exceptional consideration. He ordered that five hundred horsemen and two hundred infantry men be attached to me. As a result, Jamadars Jahan Khan, Fatehullah Khan, Rahim Beg and others each of whom had eighty to ninety soldiers under them transferred themselves to service under me. I received a standard and flag from the Government. After a few days a village in the Parganah of Koil was assigned to me. The Turani and Irani chiefs in the army entertained me lavishly. The Mughal soldiers, whenever they saw me, used to salute me. I was thankful to God Almighty who had raised an insignificant person like myself to equality with great and distinguished army chiefs. An Uzbek captain Zulfi Sultan by name voluntarily came and joined me along with eighty of his soldiers. I took him in my service.

I proceed to District Aligarh

Najaf Khan received information that the Zamindars in the region of Saadabad and Jalesar on the other side of the Jumna had risen in revolt. Najaf Khan ordered Afrasiab Khan to proceed against them and put down the rebellion.

The same day Najaf Khan bestowed titles on me. He said to me. " Muhkamaddaulah, Itiqad Jung Tahmas Beg Khan, you too accompany Afrasiab Khan ". We proceeded to Saadabad-Jalesar and put down the rebellion near Saadabad. There was a Zamindar who had taken on farm a village for fifteen thousand Rupees. He would not pay the amount. The village was assigned to me and Zulfi Zultan for an annual sum of thirty seven thousand Rupees. In the first year, I realised twenty two thousand Rupees

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

from that village. Next year, due to my careful administration the revenue went up to thirty five thousand Rupees.

Dig Affairs

After a month, news was received that the Jat Rajah, Nawal Sing had died (10th August 1775). Mullah Rahimdad Khan, with his Afghan troops, seized the administration in Dig. He wanted to usurp all powers. Nawal Sing's brother, Ranjit Singh was at that time in the fort of Kumbher. He collected an army of Jats, Naga Gosavis, and the Marathas, the last under Yashwantrao Bable and marching on Dig drove out the Afghans in a short time. Rahim Dad Khan fled to Delhi.

The capture of Dig. (*29th April* 1776)

Najaf Khan arrived at Dig and laid siege to the fort. He called on Afrasiab Khan to march and join him. Accordingly, Afrasiab Khan ordered his army to move. As usual I wanted to march ahead. Afrasiab Khan gave me ten thousand Rupees to be handed over to Najaf Khan. I hastened to the camp of of Najaf Khan and deposited the amount. Afrasiab Khan arrived after two days and met Najaf Khan. Najaf Khan ordered Afrasiab Khan and Najaf Quli Khan to lay siege to Gopal Garh, which was adjacent to the main fort. They fixed their camp on a neighbouring hillock. We began to move continuously by way of our defences towards Gopal Garh. There was fighting every day. Our enternchments were on the fringe of the general entrenchments of our army surrounding the fort of Dig. About six thousand troops of the enemy were collected in the open space between Dig and Gopal Garh. Myself and Murad Beg Khan were posted in the entrenchments by Najaf Quli Khan. Later, our places were taken by Gulab Khan with a contingent of six thousand infantrymen. We were told off for patrol duties round the fort of Dig. Others were also deputed for patrolling duties. One of the doors of the fort of Dig faced our entrenchments. This door was guarded by five hundred troops of the enemy. Previous to this, detachments of our army consisting of Nag Rao Maratha and his two hundred horsemen, and Khusrau Beg,

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

the slave of Najaf Khan, and his contingent had attacked them. In this fight Khusrau Beg was killed and many of our men and horses were wounded. We were posted to this very gate. One day two soldiers of our contingent rushed towards the enemy soldiers guarding the gate and the well. I hastened to make them return. On seeing me, the enemy soldiers started withdrawing. I followed them to the gate and killed seven of them. I then returned to the camp. Najaf Quli Khan and Muhammad Beg Hamdani had witnessed my bravery. They told Najaf Khan how I scattered the enemy consisting of two thousand soldiers, killing thirty of them. I told Najaf Khan that I had hardly two hundred troops with me. Najaf Khan was much pleased. He ordered an elephant to be given to me as a gift. Afrasiab Khan, who on account of illness, was in the camp was also informed of my exploits. Everyone praised me.

After a few days Najaf Quli Khan and Afrasiab Khan were ordered to patrol round the fort of Dig and stop provisions coming into the fort from the direction of Kumbher. This was effectively done. We used to approach the fort and engage in fight every day.

At this time the inhabitants of Dig were, due to want of provision, reduced to such straits that thousands of men, women and children used to come out and seek refuge in our camp.

At this time Himmat Bahadur Gosai and Muradgir Gosai had left the Nawab of Oudh and joined the service of Najaf Khan with an army of ten to fifteen thousand. They were posted between Kumbher and Dig. This act of Najaf Khan frightened the garrison greatly. They were completely demoralised. Hardly a garrison was now left in the fort of Dig. When the siege had lasted six months, Ranjit Singh found his position desperate and slipping out of the fort one night (29th April 1779) took the way to Kumbher. Immediately, our army entered Dig. For three days the city was given to plunder. At the end of this period Najaf Khan restored order and posted guards at the gates. Plundering came to an end.

After the fall of Dig.

Najaf Khan now sent Afrasiab Khan to Koil (Aligarh),

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

Najaf Quli Khan to Hissar and Hansi, and Muhammad Beg Khan Hamdani to Dholpur. I took leave of Afrasiab Khan and went to my charge.

After four months Najaf Khan himself crossed the Jumna with his troops and marched against Mursan, the headquarters of a Jat chief Phupsingh. Mursan was at a distance of eight Kos from my charge. Afrasiab Khan too arrived. Negotiations having been broken because of the Rajah's unwillingness to pay the full amount, the fort was invested. After a siege of seventeen days it surrendered (3rd January 1777). The Rajah fled to Sasni. Najaf Khan followed him thither. As the place had been in the Jagir of Shujauddaulah, Najaf Khan contented himself by accepting tribute from the Zamindar. He then marched to Chharra Bhamanri (twenty five miles east of Aligarh) and captured it (End of January 1777).

At this time orders arrived from Delhi asking Najaf Khan to present himself before the Emperor.

Najaf Khan in Delhi :

Najaf Khan, accordingly marched to Delhi, Afrasiab went towards his Estates in Aligarh. We four Risaladars, myself, Mir Aziz Khan, Khwajah Niaz Khan and Bala Rao Maratha accompanied Najaf Khan to Delhi. The Emperor sent some of his sons to receive Najaf Khan. Najaf Khan then had an audience of the Emperor (12 February 1777). The Emperor desired that Zabita Khan should also be sent for. When orders were sent to him Zabita Khan took a long time to start from Gausgarh. In the meanwhile he had secured the alliance of the Sikhs and had made the defences of his territory strong.

My affairs :

My Jagir in Aligarh, assessed at thirty-five thousand Rupees, was held by me and Zulfi Sultan. I now heard that Afrasiab Khan had handed over the Jagir solely to Zulfi Sultan for a sum of Rupees forty five thousand. I was deprived of the Jagir.

At this time marriage talks of my daughter with Din Muhammad, son of Murad Beg Khan, were under progress. I had no

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

money with me. By God's grace I raised some loan from the Mughals and borrowed provisions from the shops and performed the marriage ceremony.

I was in search of a bride for my son. There was a Jamadar, Tahmas Khan by name, in the Risala of Qasim Khan. I got his daughter married to my son Allah Yar Khan.

After this, I took leave of Najaf Khan and went, accompanied by two horsemen to Mursan, where Afrasiab Khan was camping. I spoke to him about his handing over the Jagir to Zulfi Sultan. After two or three days he fixed the Jagir again in my name for a sum of forty thousand Rupees. He also bestowed on me a palanquain. I then went to my charge.

Rebellion of Zabita Khan :

Meanwhile news was received that Zabita Khan had, with a strong army and a contingent of eight thousand Sikhs, arrived at Delhi and through the mediation of Najaf Khan met the Emperor (13th to 17th April 1777). Districts such as Meerath and others which had been farmed out to him formed the subject of discussions between the parties. Zabita Khan created difficulties in paying the dues for the districts. As he had come to see the Emperor through the intercession of Najaf Khan, Zabita Khan was allowed to return to his camp. His Sikh allies fled away. Zabita Khan marched in the middle of night towards Gausgarh. He declared himself a rebel. The negotiations could have been successful for a sum of forty or fifty thousand Rupees. But the uncles and other chiefs of Zabita Khan who had grown proud of their armies and wealth, refused to accept the terms. They said " What are these Imperial army and the Mughalia Contingents? We have thirty thousand Afghans and ten thousand Sikhs with us. If a fight breaks out we are sure to win." Zabita Khan said to them "If I have to rebel against the Emperor, I would require considerable money. I have nothing with me at present. How can we rebel ? " The chiefs said "We can provide upto seven lakhs of Rupees. It is better to have a fight with the Mughals, and impress them with our prowess? "

Counting on their support Zabita Khan prepared for a fight and broke out into open rebellion. I heard the story from Zabita

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

Khan himself after the war.

In short, Zabita Khan marched away from the Imperial camp in the night. Some of the noblemen advised the Emperor and Najaf Khan to pursue the Afghans as they were in a disorganised condition. Najaf Khan refused to accept their advice saying that this would be treachery and bring discredit to their names. The Imperial army would, God willing, march to the strongholds of the Afghans and tackle them there.

After a few days the Imperial army marched towards Gausgarh. It had frequent clashes with the Sikhs in the district of Shamli. Meanwhile, Zabita Khan had reached Gausgarh and strengthened its defences.

War with Zabita Khan (June 1777)

The fort of Gausgarh is very strong. On three sides of the fort are three towns populated entirely by Afghans, Jalalabad, Lohari and Thana Bhir. These towns are at a distance of a mile or half a mile from the fort. The entire population of these places which was Afghan, was armed to the teeth. The Afghans had built strong defences from the outer walls of the fort upto Jalalabad and then to Thana Bhir, manned by the Afghan infantry.

When the Imperial army reached Gousgarh (23rd May 1777) it became engaged in fighting with the Afghan infantry near Thana Bhir for a few days. The Sikhs also attacked and fought the Imperial army. When the Imperial army found that it could not effect an entry into the fort through the defences at Thana Bhir, it marched away from that place and arriving in front of Jalalabad camped near the pools. The army lay encamped in that place for a few months. There was not much discipline in the army, nor were orders issued by the Generals followed by the army. The fighting with Sikhs continued throughout. The rains which now broke out were extremely heavy. Owing to the encampment in the marshy area the army suffered terribly. It also suffered from want of money and provision.

This situation lasted for five months. Both the armies suffered through rains and want of provision. Peace talks took place off and on. But as mutual trust was absent nothing came out of it.

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

I had gone to the territory under my charge. I raised money from my Jagirs and sent the salaries of my troops fully and regularly. Tahmas Khan, whose daughter had been engaged to my son, asked me to go over to Delhi when the marriage ceremony could be performed. I accordingly took leave of Afrasiab Khan and came to Delhi. When I wrote to Tahmas Khan he replied that it would not be possible to leave Gousgarh and go to Delhi, and that the marriage be performed after the war was over. I stayed for ten days at Delhi. The tutor to my sons, to whom I have already referred above, strongly advised me to go to Gousgarh, saying that he foresaw that I would be instrumental in the achievment of victory. I accordingly left for Gousgarh with two horsemen. On the way I met bullocks carrying provisions. We reached the camp together. Grain which was selling in the camp at the rate of fourteen to fifteen seers, now began to sell at the rate of twenty five seers per Rupee.

Afrasiab Khan Arrives at Gousgarh (End of August 1777)

After a few days, Afrasiab Khan arrived with a strong army and artillery. Najaf Khan one day said to Afrasiab Khan "Every one, small or big, in the army has been saying that this war will be won through your arms. Tomorrow you should, placing reliance on God, attack the Afghans. I will place some additional battalions at your disposal. I am sure that victory will be won."

When Afrasiab Khan returned to his tent he called me for advice. He asked "What is your advice? Should we attack the Sikhs first or should we go after the Ruhelas?"

I said " The Sikhs conduct the guerila type of warfare. When they find that we are strong they take refuge in the three forts surrounding Gousgarh. It will be difficult to achieve victory against them. My advice is that our army should move against the Afghan defences on the side of Jalalabad. Najaf Khan may be asked to draw up the entire army with all caution against the Afghan defences. You should however call for the advice of all your chiefs."

Afrasiab Khan did accordingly.

The Chief Afghans of Jalalabad came to Afrasiab Khan and

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

assured him of his support. I said "This is good. We are relieved of anxiety about the Afghans of Jalalabad as the base defence of the Afghans is at that place."

Fall of Gausgarh (*14th September* 1777)

Next day (14 September), early in the morning, Afrasiab Khan marched against the Afghans. The Battalions and artillery were on the four sides while the cavalry was in the middle. The battalions had moved slightly ahead. Afrasiab Khan galloped towards the battalion on the right hoping to send it forward on the attack when his horse was killed by a cannon ball. Afrasiab Khan came to the ground. He immediately took another horse. By this time the battalion had moved forward. About eight to nine hundred Afghan came out of their defences against the battalions. They had hardly reached a hollow place near where the Battalions were working, when they fell back. Our cavalry, thinking that the Afghans were running away, pushed ahead. I told them not to do so. But none would listen to me. When the cavalry marched ahead, the Afghans turned and attacked the battalions. The Sepoys gave up their guns and retreated. The cavalry too returned. I was with my thirty horsemen. I found myself with the retreating infantry and cavalry. My sons said "Why do you advance? Where will you go? The Ruhelas are advancing."

I did not heed their words. I turned the retreating troops back and we faced the oncoming Afghans. The Afghans, on seeing that we stood facing them, stopped. Our army stood its ground firmly. In the fighting we killed about seven hundred Ruhelas. The Afghans who were fighting us began to retreat slowly. In the meanwhile, Afrasiab Khan came to our assistance with a select body of horsemen. He loudly encouraged the troops to attack the enemy. Just at this time I was wounded in my right eye. I fell senseless. When I opened my left eye I saw that our army was winning victory. After an hour my senses were fully restored. I proceeded slowly to the Ruhela lines where Najaf Khan had already arrived. I then returned to the camp. On the way I vomited blood twice. Reaching the camp I began to nurse my wounds. Next day the army marched and camped

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

near Gousgarh.

The Emperor bestowed robes and the title of Rustam Jang on Najaf Khan. Afrasiab Khan received the title of Ashrafa-ddaulah. The two now proceeded to confiscate the property in the fort of Gausgarh. Zabita Khan fled away along with the Sikhs.

Four days after this, Afrasiab Khan came to visit me. He praised me for my bravery in the battle. Describing his own experiences, he said that he would attribute the victory to me, seeing that when he arrived on the field he saw his men retreating, while I was making a stand manfully. He then returned to his camp.

My wounds healed after sixteen days. Afrasiab Khan took me to the Emperor who bestowed robes, an elephant and horse on me. My sister's son and son-in-law, Iwaz Badal Beg received the title of Khan.

I return to Delhi

I then took leave and returned to Delhi to perform the marriage of my son. I borrowed money from my friends and spent about five thousand Rupees on the marriage. Afrasiab Khan who had brought the Afghan prisoners, men, women and children, with him, arrived at Delhi. He very graciously came to my house and took part in the entertainment which I had prepared for him.

Najaf Khan's movements.

Afrasiab Khan sent the Afghan prisoners to the fort of Aligarh. The Emperor appointed Najaf Quli Khan to the district of Saharanpur while he himself returned to Delhi (20th November, 1777).

Najaf Khan marches against the Jats.

After a few days Najaf Khan marched against the Jats (25th November 1777). He captured the Jat stronghold of Kumbher. The Jat Rajah Ranjit Singh and his mother Kishori fled to

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

Bharatpur. After two or three months Ranjit Singh surrendered. Najaf Khan returned many of his strongholds to the Jat chief. (February 1778).

Afrasiab Khan who had joined Najaf Khan in this campaign now returned to Aligarh.

Najaf Khan now turned to put down Rajah Pratap Singh Macheriwala, who had rebelled (May 1778).

Sikhs raid the Doab :

At this time news was received that the Sikhs and Zabita Khan had crossed the river Jumna. They devastated the territory of Meerat, Sikandra and Khurja. Afrasiab Khan had by this time returned to Khurja. He repulsed the Sikhs. They then marched to Gausgarh which was held by Najaf Quli Khan and laid siege to it. Najaf Khan wrote to Afrasiab Khan asking him to rush to the aid of Najaf Quli Khan. On Afrasiab Khan seeking my advice, I told him that I would march ahead with a hundred or two hundred horsemen and clear the roads and villages of the Sikh detachments which were scattered in the area. He agreed. I marched ahead. The Sikhs fled away. Afrasiab Khan was behind me with his army. When he had arrived near Gaziuddinnagar, Abdul Ahad Khan wrote to him to proceed to Delhi. A rift had developed between Abdul Ahad Khan and Najaf Khan. Afrasiab Khan left me in the camp and proceeded to Delhi. He was at Delhi for fourteen days (8th to 20th April 1778). He succeeded in smoothening the differences between the two and then returned to the camp. We then marched and within a few days arrived in vicinity of Gausgarh. Najaf Quli Khan received him. The two then crossed the Jumna and fought against the Sikhs in the region of Karnal and Budakhera. The Sikh chief Gajpat Singh Karnalwala, in whose camp Zabita Khan had sought refuge, came to terms. To this, Bagh Singh the chief of Thaneshwar, would not agree. Afrasiab Khan and Najaf Quli Khan then laid siege to his fort and captured it. The Sikhs then came to terms, Zabita Khan too gave in. Afrasiab Khan took him with him to Akbarabad Agra. On the way, the fort of Meerut was captured.

A few days previous to this, Najaf Khan had arrived at

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

Agra. Zabita Khan now met Najaf Khan through the mediation of Afrasiab Khan. He was received graciously by Najaf Khan (September 1778).

The Emperor's Movements.

Abdul Ahad Khan was zealous of the success of Najaf Khan. He pointed out to the Emperor that Najaf Khan, even after the successful occupation of territories, had not sent any money to the Emperor. He persuaded the Emperor to march to Jaipur and realise tribute from that State. The Emperor accordingly marched towards Jaipur (November 1778). As soon as Najaf Khan heard of the Emperor's movements, he arrived in the Imperial camp and met the Emperor (23rd January 1779). The Rajah of Jaipur also arrived and met the Emperor through Najaf Khan. Zabita Khan too met the Emperor through Najaf Khan. He was given robes of honour. The Parganas of Saharanpur were restored to him. He was given leave to return (30th January 1779).

The Sikhs raid the Doab.

The Sikhs once again started devastating raids in the Jumna Ganges Doab. Afrasiab Khan fought with them. But as his army was small and the Sikhs practised the guerila type of warfare, they could not be put down effectively.

This went on for two or three months. Abdul Ahad Khan now entered into an understanding with Najaf Khan. The Emperor returned to Delhi (21st April 1778).

Abdul Ahad Khan against the Sikhs :

A few days passed. Abdul Ahad Khan once again broke the understanding entered into with Najaf Khan. He embarked on a venture which was only to end in disaster. He took Farkhunda Bakht, the son of the Emperor and marched against the territory in the occupation of the Sikhs (3rd June 1779). Within a few days he arrived at Karnal. Gajpat Singh, the Sikh chief who was holding the district since twenty years, met Abdul Ahad. He

1759

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

became the advisor of Abdul Ahad in all matters. Abdul Ahad acted according to his advice in all matters. By his advice he advanced and enlisted every Sikh who came in search of service. He gave to every Sikh Sardar who interviewed him elephants, aigrettes and other marks of honour. He planted Sikh Thanas wherever the Ryots had fled away from the villages in fear of the Royal troops. Abdul Ahad Khan was a learned man. He was a keen student of history. He was a wise man full of understanding. He however relied heavily on the Sikhs, little realising that these aliens in faith would not stick to him at the testing time. He pushed on to Patiala (28th September 1779), the home of Amar Singh, which he wanted to capture. He was accompanied by Sikhs hostile to Amar Singh. There was fighting for two or three days. At this stage the Sikh colleagues of Abdul Ahad Khan deserted him. They entered into an understanding with Amar Singh. They said to Abdul Ahad "A vast army of Sikhs from Lahore is coming to the assistance of Amar Singh. We cannot withstand its attack. It is better that you return back." At this news Abdul Ahad Khan was terrified. He started to return to Karnal (14th October 1779). On the return march the Imperial army suffered extremely through incessant Sikh attacks, scarcity in the camp, and the hardships of the road. Abdul Ahad Khan was thoroughly repentant of his action. He wanted to get the assistance of Najaf Khan. Najaf Khan arrived with a strong army and artillery at Delhi. Abdul Ahad Khan had arrived at Delhi only two days earlier. Taking the Prince Farkhunda Bakht he advanced to receive Najaf Khan (14th November 1779). Najaf Khan sent Afrasiab Khan whom he had called from Aligarh, to take control of the fort. Although there were strong forces stationed in the fort, Afrasiab Khan with his tact succeeded in introducing ten thousand of his soldiers in the fort.

Najaf Khan now arrived. He had an audience of the Emperor and returned to his camp. Afrasiab Khan who had posted me at the gate and had gone inside did not come out. He persuaded the Emperor with sweet words to part with Abdul Ahad Khan. Next day, he took Abdul Ahad Khan out of the fort and put him in detention (16th November 1779). Najaf Khan then visited the fort, sent out his men and returned to his camp.

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

Afrasiab Khan posted a battalion under me and ordered me to be at the gate of the fort continuously. Najaf Khan then took up his residence in the palace of Qamaruddin near the Ajmir Gate. Abdul Ahad Khan was placed under house detention.

Author's affairs

Afrasiab Khan then left for Aligarh. I too left my sons in my place at the gate of the fort and went to my Jagir. Murad Beg Khan had promised to give his daughter in marriage to my son. He now went back on his word. Nor did I insist on his fulfilling his promise. There was no dearth of girls. I did not want to antagonise Murad Beg Khan. I got my son Saadat Yar Khan married to a girl from a Badakhshi family. The other son Muhammad Yar Khan was married to a girl from a Mughal family which hailed originally from Samarqand. I borrowed about eight thousand Rupees and celebrated their marriages. People thought that I was rich whereas I had hardly anything with me. But God was kind to me. He satisfied my wants. I also repaid my debts slowly until I became completely free from debts. I celebrated some more marriages in the family.

Under the regime of Najaf Khan :

Every house in Delhi was full of happiness. All sorts of goods were sold and purchased in the city. New buildings were constructed.

Among the Turanian chiefs two were prominent. One was Badal Beg Khan. He had the title of Turk Jung. The other was Nawab Niaz Beg Khan. He had the title of Talib Jung. While I was writing this work, Niyaz Beg Khan died. His son Bahadur Beg Khan has been given the title Talib Jung which his father bore. Qasim Khan received the title of Sharfuddaulah. He had wealth and good influence. He possessed the full confidence of Najaf Khan as he was performing his work efficiently and well.

Murad Beg Khan had the title of Shamsher Jung. He was the captain of artillery. He had greater access to the Emperor

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

than the other chiefs. His nephew Ashur Ali Khan was the captain of the Emperor's artillery. There were other chiefs, Turanians, Persians, Afghans and Indians who were strong and in affluent circumstances. They distinguished themselves in various actions.

I too, due to my exertions on the field of battle received the title of Muhkamuddaulah, Itiqad Jung Tahmas Khan and was given elephants and palanquins for my use.

My children

To the date of writing this book, it is nearly thirty four years that I was first married. By God's grace, from my first wife I had twelve sons and daughters. Of these at present four sons and three daughters are alive. From my second wife I had two sons. Of these, one died, while the second Haq Vardi Khan by name is alive. During this time I purchased a house in the locality of Ballimaran. The house was a small one. I purchased houses situated nearby and constructed a bigger house for my residence. I also purchased a few houses outside the city. The area near the Ghee market had no population. I purchased it and constructed a garden. I planted fruitbearing trees and a number of beautiful flowers in the garden.

In my own lifetime I gave separate establishments to each of my sons and married daughters. I handed over horses and servants to each of them, so that they could manage their own establishments wisely.

Along with my sons I used to pray five times everyday. I gave them good training in arms. Owing to the grace of God we are looked upon with respect and esteem by the Turani and Irani Mughals. My two sons became the disciples of a spiritual guide Shah Adani (Awani ?) by name. The other two sons Muhammad Yar Khan and Khuda Yar Khan are now engaged in learning Turkish under me. The fifth son Haq Vardi Khan is a small child. I am now nearing fifty years of my life.

Mughalani Begam

Strange are the ways of the world. Three years before I completed this work (that is, in about 1779 A. D.) Mughalani

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

Begam, the widow of Nawab Muinulmulk, came to Delhi. She was in strained circumstances. As soon as I heard of her arrival, I returned from my Jagir to Delhi. When I saw her in such poor condition, I burst into tears. I supplied her with all that she needed. Within two months she was again in good circumstances. All those who heard of my generosity praised me.

After two months, Mughalani Begam returned to Jammu. I have heard that she died shortly after reaching Jammu.

Two years before I wrote this book (that is, in about 1780 A. D.). The daughter of Gaziuddin Khan Imadulmulk was brought to Delhi to be married to the grandson of Azamulla Khan. I contributed within my means to the expenditure on the marriage through presents of robes and other material. Umda Begam, the wife of Gaziuddin was in Hyderabad. She was all praise for me. She wrote a letter to me saying how much she appreciated my action. While I was writing this book, Umda Begam's daughter and the grandson of Azamullah Khan left for the Deccan.

Death of Najaf Khan (*6th April* 1782).

While I had come to this stage in my memoirs, Najaf Khan who was ill for the last four months died on the twenty second of the month of Rabiussani, Twenty three Julus (Reign of Shah Alam) (6th April 1782).

Afrasiab Khan has been appointed in his place.

The end :

I end this book here. I started writing it on the first of the holy month of Ramzan. I completed it within nine months. I was engaged in writing these memoirs day and night. Since I was relying on my memory in describing the incidents mentioned in the memoirs, I used to show the draft to Munshi Meghraj. He very kindly made corrections in many places.

Here end the memoirs of Tahmas Khan, furnished in Hejira 1196, Twenty four Julus (Shah Alam's reign) eleventh of the month of Jamadilawal (24th April 1782) at Delhi.

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

Index

Abdul Ahmad Khan, 126, 148, 149, 150, 151.
Abdul Gani, a learned maulavi, 116
Abdullah Beg 109, 112
Abdullah Khan, 40
Abdurrahman, 136, 138
Abdurrahman Beg, the adopted son of Tahmas Khan, 133
Abdussamad Khan, the Governor of Sialkot, 40, 58, 63, 93, 102.
Abu Turab Khan (Koka), 77, 91, 93, 95, 97, 100, 101
Adina Beg Khan, the deputy Governor of the Doab (Jullundhar), 9, 16, 19, 33, 39, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 62, 63, 64, 65, 70, 72, 73, 74
Adina Nagar, 52
Adras Beg, 32
Afrasiab, 31, 81
Afrasiab Beg, 80
Afrasiab Khan 132, 133, 134, 135, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151,153
Afzal Khan, the uncle of Zabita Khan, 120, 121, 128
Aga, changed name of Tahmas Khan by Muinulmulk, 10
Agha Hussein, 112
Agra, 47, 127
Ahmad Khan, 125
Ahmad Khan Bangash, 98, 110
Ahmad Shah Abdali, 7, 8, 10, 12, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 28, 30, 32, 39, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 84, 85, 87, 88, 90, 91, 98, 99, 100, 105, 107, 114, 115, 116
Ahmad Shah, the Mughal Emperor deposed, 32
Aiwaz Badal, 60
Akbarabad : Agra, 148
Alamgir II, 32, 46, 47, 85, 98
Alamjan, 14
Ala Singh Jat, 106
Alburze mountain, 6
Aligarh (Koil), 91, 98, 117, 119, 134, 141
Ali Gohar, the eldest son of the emperor Alamgir II, 32, 85, 98
Ali Mardan Khan, 85
Alim Beg Khan, 23
Ali Muhammad Khan, 131
Ali Quli, 69
Ali Quli Beg, 90
Allahabad, 118
Allah Vardi Khan, 95
Allah Yar Khan Afghan, 6
Allah Yar Khan, son of Tahmas Khan, 93, 116, 127, 132, 143
Alwand mountain, 6
Aman Khan, 30, 31, 128
Amar Singh, 150
Ambar Khan, the Khajah Sara, 85, 96
Aminabad, 22, 26
Aonla, 128
Aqil Beg Khan, 77
Arifjan, 14
Arjumand, the Khwajah Sara, 27
Arsalan Khan, the Amir, 3, 4, 6
Arzat, a village in Turkey, 1
Asafauddaulah, 137
Ashoor Khan of Badakhshan, 27
Ashur Ali Khan 27, 70, 152
Aurab Beg, an Uzbeg chief, 7, 103

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

Badakhshan, 22, 23
Badal Beg Khan 124, 132, 151
Badli, 45
Bagh Lakhapatrai, 23
Bag Khan, 86
Bahar, 125
Bala Bash Khan, 27
Balkh, 14, 15
Balti Beg, an Uzbeg chief, 6
Barari Ghat, 87
Bareilly, 125, 128
Barnala fort, 106
Baroz Beg, 80, 81
Barsana, 127, 139
Basant Khan, 114, 119
Basoli, 128
Basuli, 130, 132
Batala, 18, 67, 72, 73
Baxar, 121
Bayazid, a city in Turkey, 1
Bharatpur, 84, 85, 86, 87, 148
Bhikari Khan, 11, 16, 20, 21, 22, 24, 25, 26, 27, 30
Boda Ramdas (Kartarpur) fort, 62
Budakhera, 148
Bukhara, 18
Buriya Ghat, 113

Chak Guru (Amritsar), 18, 61, 62
Charat Singh, the grandfather or Maharaja Ranjit Singh, 104
Chharra Bhamanri, 142

Darah Beg, 78, 79, 90, 97, 100,102, 103, 106, 107
Daraz Beg, 60
Dattaji (Shinde), 72, 87
Delhi, 8, 12, 14, 21, 24, 32, 40, 41, 42, 45, 46, 54, 57, 64, 83, 85, 87, 89, 91, 93, 98, 100, 103, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 114, 117, 119, 120, 126, 127, 130, 132, 142, 147, 151, 153
Dig, 140, 141
Dilaram, 49, 50, 52, 65
Divani Am, 86
Divani Khas, 86
Doab, 14, 47, 48, 52, 53, 63, 116, 149
Doonde Khan, 110, 128, 130

Faiz Beg, 15
Faizulla Beg, 74, 78, 103, 107, 108, 120, 121, 132
Faridabad, 84
Farkhunda Bakht, the Prince, 150
Farman Beg Khan, 27
Farrukhabad, 110, 111, 119
Farrukhanagar fort, 112
Fateh Ali Khan, 100
Fatehullah Khan, 139

Gajpat Singh Karnalwala, the Sikh chief, 148
Gaus Garh, 127, 144, 146
Gazi Beg Khan, 18, 25
Gaziuddin, 18, 19, 28, 30, 32, 33, 36, 37, 42, 46, 47, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87
Gaziuddinnagar, 93, 112
Ghaus Garh, 120, 128 145, 147, 148
Gilan, 2
Gopal Garh, 140
Govardhan, 138, 139
Gufrankhan, 63
Gulabrai, 111
Gulam Ali Beg, 40
Gulam Khan, 44
Gulam Shah, 43, 52
Gurdayal, 49, 50

Hadi Khan, 31
Hafiz Rahmat Khan, 98, 110, 119, 120, 125, 128, 129, 130, 132

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

Haji Atai Khan 61, 62
Haji Khan, 27, 31
Haji-Pur, 49
Hakim Sarai, 56
Halim Khan, 131
Hansi, 117, 142
Hapur, 118
Haqvardi, 152
Haradwar, 132
Hasan Beg, 6, 42, 43, 44
Hasan Manda 76, 77, 78
Hatim Beg, 60
Hissar, 117, 142
Husain Beg, 81, 108
Hysamuddin Khan, 124, 126

Ibrahim Khan, 133
Ibrahim Quli Khan, 27
Ismail Ali Khan, 27
Ismat Khan, 13, 14
Iwaz Badal Beg, the Son-in-law of Tahmas Khan, 32, 120, 147

Jahan Khan, Sardar, 15-17, 42-44, 47, 51, 52, 54, 55-59, 61-65, 67,71 91, 116, 139
Jalalabad, 68, 120, 144, 145, 146
Jalesar, 139
Jamal Garh, 109
Jamiluddin Khan, 16, 39
Jammu, 29, 30, 39, 47, 51, 53, 74,75, 84, 91, 92, 93, 94, 96, 97, 98, 101, 102, 103, 153
Jani Khan, 102
Jankoji (Shinde), 87, 90
Jawahar Singh Jat, the Son of Surajmal Jat, 114, 117
Jawanbakht, 98
Jawar, 134
Jehlum river, 11
Jullundhar, 41, 47, 49, 94

Kabul 12, 30, 51, 52, 114, 115, 116
Kalanur, 12
Kama, 135
Kama fort, 134
Kandelah, 113
Karnal, 43, 44, 148, 149, 150
Kasganj, 128
Kashmir, 14, 47, 53, 63, 92
Katra Mahaldar Khan, 47
Kauramal Rajah, 13, 14, 16
Khala Begam, 37
Khali Balwan, 49
Khane Khanan 37, 46
Kharonji Beg, a resident of Bokhara 2, 3, 4, 5
Khiyali Ram, 110
Khuda Yar Khan, the son of Tahmas Khan, 118, 152
Khurjah, 122, 148
Khusrau Beg, 140, 141
Khwajah Abdullah Khan, 30,31, 33,39
Khawajah Ahmad Said Khan, 26
Khwajah Ibrahim Khan, 47, 48, 49,50
Khwajah Mirza Khan 15, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 25, 27, 28, 29, 30, 34, 39, 63, 70, 71, 81, 96
Khwajah Momin Khan, 20, 37
Khwajah Moosa Khan, 18
Khwajah Muhammad Said Khan, 24, 25, 26
Khwajah Niaz Khan, 142
Khwajah Qazi, 29, 30
Khwajah Sara Arjumand, 34
Khwajah Sara Muharam Khan, 25
Khwajah Sara Naseem Khan, 33
Khwajah Sayeed Khan, 71, 83
Koka (Abu Turab Khan), 91
Kot Rao Kala, 37
Kumbher, 140, 141, 147
Kunjpura, 98, 99, 113

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

Lahore 6, 8, 9, 11-24, 26, 29, 30, 33, 36-41, 44, 51, 52, 53, 62, 63, 65, 68, 70, 71, 81,87, 91, 92, 103, 104, 105, 107, 150.
Lakhpatrai, the Diwan, 9
Laldang, 132
Latafat Ali Khan, 129
Luni, 87

Machhiwada, 37
Madec, the Frenchman, 138
Mahdi Ghat, 128
Mah Khanam, the eldest daughter of Tahmas Khan, 119
Mahtab Rai, 110, 111
Majihabad, 111
Majnun Faqir, 45
Malerkotla, 106
Malharrao Holkar, 64, 72, 90, 91, 114
Mankabir, 120
Mansur Ali Khan (Safdar Jung), 12, 13, 19, 121
Manupur, battle of (11-3-1748), 8
Mathura 47, 119
Maulvi Abdullah, 11
Meerat, 115, 116, 127, 148
Mir Abdulla, 10, 25
Miran Hind Shah Gazi, 35
Miranpur, 119
Mir Aziz Khan, 142
Mir Hazar Khan, 71, 72
Mir Momin Khan, 9, 21, 31, 36
Mir Niamatullah, 62
Mirza Ahmad Khan, the Governor of Lahore, 82
Mirza Hasan, 123, 124
Mirza Khan, 104
Miyan Arjumand, 25
Miyan Khush Faham, 25
Miyan Muhabbat, 25
Momin Khan, 18, 25, 26
Mughalani Begam, 20, 21, 25, 30, 32-37, 40, 42, 44, 45-60, 62, 64, 65, 66, 68-70, 72, 73, 75-79, 81, 83, 88-94, 97, 100, 101, 152, 153
Muhammad Amin Khan, 21, 24
Muhammad Aqil, 23, 27
Muhammad Beg Khan Hamdani,136, 137, 141, 142
Muhammad Ghous, the Saint, 60
Muhammad Mughal, 108
Muhammad Nazar Beg, an Uzbeg chief, 6
Muhammad Nazir Beg, 9
Muhammad Said Khan 9, 14
Muhammad Said Khan Qabchak, 41
Muhammad Sayeed Khan, 83
Muhammad Shah, 8
Muhammad Shah, the Emperor, 7
Muhammad Yar Khan, the son of Tahmas Khan, 116, 151, 152
Muharam Khan (Khwaja Sara), 9, 10
Muinulmulk, 8-16, 19-21, 26, 33,37, 40, 102
Mukrama, the Kotwal of Jammu, 74
Multan, 7, 8, 13, 14, 92
Munshi Meghraj, 153
Muquim Beg, 54, 57, 80, 81, 88
Muradabad, 122, 125
Murad Beg Khan, 132, 133, 135, 142, 151
Mursan 42, 143
Murtuza Khan, 106, 129
Murtuza Khan Bharech, 105, 109, 113
Murtaza Sultan, 135
Musavi Khan Balach, 112
Mustafabad, 109

Nadir Shah of Persia, 1, 2, 7
Najabat Khan of Kunjpura, 43

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

Najabat Khan Rohilla, 99
Najaf Gad, 120
Najaf Khan, Zulfirquruddahulah, 1, 122, 123, 125, 126, 127, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134-153
Najaf Quli Khan, 135-137, 140-142, 147, 148
Najibabad, 114, 117, 119, 121, 122, 126, 128
Najib Khan Rohilla, 87, 98, 100, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 117, 118
Narela, 45, 46
Naseem Khan, 37
Nasir Khan, the Mughal Governor of Kabul, 6, 12, 13
Nauroz Beg, 113
Nawab Abdullah Khan, 33
Nawal Singh, the son of Surajmal Jat, 117, 126, 140
Naiz Beg Khan, 124, 151
Niyaz Beg Khan, 132
Nizamuddowlah, the Vazir, the younger brother of Muinulmulk, 86

Panipat, 43, 44, 54, 98, 122
Paramandal 101, 102
Pasrur, 96
Pathar Garh, 122
Patiala, 150
Patti, 22,23
Peshawar, 30
Phupsingh, 142
Pilibhit, 129
Pratap Singh Macheriwala, 148
Puth, 125

Qamaruddin, 8, 12, 102, 151
Qandahar, 6,7, 15, 18, 30, 31, 32, 39, 51, 54, 85, 100, 107, 114
Qasim Beg, 105
Qasim Khan, 14, 15, 21, 22, 23, 24, 26, 29, 41, 54, 57, 58, 61, 70, 71, 93, 99, 104, 106, 108, 113, 124, 151
Qasur, 21
Quamaruddin Khan, Nawab, 89
Qurban Beg Khan, 3, 4, 6

Raghunathrao (Ragho), 64, 72
Rahim Beg, 139
Rahim Dad Khan, 134, 137, 140
Rahon, 40
Rajghat, 15
Ramchandra Ganesh, 117, 118, 119
Ramgarh, 134
Ramghat, 124, 125
Rampur, 132
Ram Rauni (Amritsar), 18
Ranjit Singh Jat, 140, 141, 147, 148
Rustum Beg, 132
Rustum Khan, 95, 96, 98
Rustum Khan Bangash, 94

Saadabad, 133, 134, 139
Saadat Khan,104
Saadat Yar Khan, the Urdu Poet, 94, 107, 116, 127, 132, 138, 151
Saadullah Khan, 46
Sabitgarh, 91, 134
Sabit Khan, 134
Sadashiv Rao Bhau 94, 98, 99
Sadiq Khan, 104
Saharanpur, 87, 113, 115, 123, 124, 126, 127
Sai Khan, 99
Saleh Khan, the Governor of Multan, 82
Samadkhan Muhammadzai, 64, 66, 67, 98, 99, 111, 113, 115
Samba, 101
Sambhal, 125
Sam, connected with Safawi dynasty, the ruler of Tabriz, 2
Sarafaraz Khan, 63

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

Sarai Mihr Parwar, 45
Sarbuland Khan, 94
Sarmast Khan, 131
Satlaj, 68
Sayyad Jamiluddin Khan, 9
Secunderabad, 91, 148
Shah Adani (Awani), a spiritual guide of the two sons of Tahmas Khan, 152
Shahabuddin Beg, 9
Shahajahan, 11, 86, 98
Shah Alam, the Emperor, 118, 120
Shah Baz, 101
Shahadara, 15, 30, 98, 114
Shah Doola, 15
Shah Nawaz Khan, 7, 8, 13, 14
Shahpur, 103
Shahawali Khan, 42-47, 53, 90, 92, 105, 106
Shaikh Azim, 69
Shalamar, 15, 45
Shambi, 113
Shamli, 116
Sharaqpur, 38
Sholapuri Begam, the mother-in-law of Mughalani Begam, widow of Wazir Kamaruddin, 14, 89
Shujauddowlah, 98, 108, 110, 111, 119, 121, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 132, 137
Shukratal, 87, 119, 120
Sialkot, 12, 52, 81, 91, 92, 93, 96, 97, 100, 107
Siddiq Beg Khan, 33
Sindhia Patel (Jankoji Shinde), 117, 118, 119
Sirhind, 32, 33, 36, 37, 40, 41, 48, 51, 52, 53, 62, 64, 66, 67, 68, 94, 104, 107, 109, 113, 115
Sodhi Barbhag Sing, 62
Sonepat, 42, 45, 122
Sukhjiwan, the Governor of Kasmir, 76
Suliman Beg, 113
Sultan Khan, uncle of Zabita Khan, 121, 128
Surajmal Jat, 84, 91, 112, 113, 134
Syed Abid, the saint, the spiritual guide of Tahams Khan, 60, 97
Syed Jamiluddin Khan, 14, 18, 36, 38

Tabriz 2,6
Taimur, changed name of Tahmas Khan by Muinulmulk, 10
Taimur Shah, 47, 51, 53, 55, 57, 58, 62, 63, 64, 70, 71
Taqi Beg, 80, 81
Thaneshwar, 115
Tikapur, 19, 25
Tukoji Holkar, 72, 117, 118, 119
Turah Beg, 100, 108

Uddhao, the minister of Jammu, 74
Umada Begam, 36, 40, 47, 83, 84, 86, 153

Vishawas Rao, 98,99
Vitthal Rao (Vitthal Shivdev Vinchurkar), 85

Yahiya Khan, 7
Yakub Ali Khan, 90, 98
Yashwantrao Bable, 140
Yusuf Khan, 55, 67

Zabita Khan, the son of Najib Khan, 109, 110, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 142, 144, 147, 148, 149
Zain Khan Mohamand, 102, 105, 106, 108, 109, 113
Zakiriya Khan (Khan Bahadur) the Governor of Punjab (1747), 7, 102
Zulfi Sultan, 139, 142, 143

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

P. SETU MADHAVA RAO (b. 27th August 1910) graduated from the Hindu University, Benaras, in 1930, standing first in First Class and was the recipient of the Rai Chandi Prasad Gold Medal. He took his M.A. in Political Science from the University of Allahabad in 1932 standing first in First Class. For some time he worked as a Research Scholar in that University. In 1933 he joined the services of the Nizam's State. In 1956 at the time of the reorganisation of the States he had been absorbed in the Indian Administrative Service and was working as Secretary to the Government of Hyderabad in the Education Department. In November 1956, he was transferred to Bombay. He worked as Deputy Secretary in the Education Department, and later on as joint Secretary in the Finance Department. At present he is the Executive Editor of the Maharashtra District Gazeteers. Setu Madhava Rao is a linguist knowing six languages besides Gondi and Kolami tribal languages and has to his credit seventeen works in Marathi and five in English. They embrace history, anthropology, outlines of Urdu poetry, translation of Galib's Urdu Gazals, short stories, essays, literary criticism and other subjects. He has translated and edited important Persian sources bearing on Maratha History.

B-1397

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY DECCAN

P. Setu Madhava Rao

"*Eighteenth Century Deccan* is a factual account of the confused period when the Moghul generals, Marathas, French and British were all jockeying for position. It is a period when general trends were so smothered in irrelevant detail that the historian can hardly be blamed for giving a mere trickle of facts. Apart from the usual sources, this author draws on hitherto unpublished Persian manuscripts which he wishes to introduce to the notice of the student. They add detail to the picture without changing its general features."

—*The Statesman*

Demy 8vo xvi + 317 **Rs. 25.00**

RAZIA : QUEEN OF INDIA

Rafiq Zakaria

"This biography of Razia, the only queen to have been crowned in Delhi, is a significant contribution to historical research on many grounds. It raises from a literal oblivion a medieval ruler, denied justice by contemporary historians and denied recognition in centuries of neglect. It conforms to exacting but humane standards of interpretation in the treatment of several controversial episodes. This well-produced book contains an illuminating foreward by Dr. P. B. Gajendragadkar, a preface by Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri and a portfolio of elegant sketches by the well-known artist, Shiavax Chavda."

—*Times of India*

Demy 8vo xxviii + 159 **Rs. 15.00**

POPULAR BOOKS

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com